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ABSTRACT

This Fulbright Summer Seminar focused on the environmental challenge posed by Colombia's biodiversity and addressed the relationship between the last decade of Colombian economic development and the country's sociocultural situation, taking into account its historical background and the role of natural resources in a context of sustainable development. The seminar included an objective analysis Columbia's sociocultural and sociopolitical situation. Health conditions, education, living style, economy, geographical ecology and environmental aspects of Colombia's wealth were discussed in the academic portion of the seminar, along with the historical development of the country and its people. The traveling phase of the seminar included visits to three important regions: (1) the coffee producing areas located in central Colombia (to understand the traditional coffee culture); (2) the southwest part of the country (to study agricultural ecosystems and industrial development based on advanced technology); and (3) the Caribbean region (to become familiar with the ecological diversity of high mountains, deserts, coral areas, and mangrove swamps). Projects included: (1) " Costa Atlantica - Ninos de las Regiones de Colombia (Children in Colombia's Regions)"(Ana Maria Alfaro); (2) "Lessons on Colombia. Three Focus Lessons on Colombia for Middle School" (Joshua L. Fradel); (3) "Curriculum Project for the 1997 Colombia Fulbright-Hays Seminar" (Richard L. Gaulke); (4) "Women's Issues in Colombia: A Preliminary Bibliography" (Myra H. Jones); (5) "Curriculum Unit on Colombia: Politics and Biodiversity" (Charlotte P. King); (6) "The Romantic Force of Nature in Jorge Isaacs' 'Maria'" (Dennis A. Klein); (7) "Aging Across Cultures" (Sherry L. Loch); (8) "Curriculum Project" (Oneida J. Meranto); (9) "Food/Nutrition in Colombia" (Sister Denise M. Mollica); (10) "The African Presence in Colombia: Can National Identity Include Ethnic Identity?" (William R. Predmore); (11) "The Relationship between the New Constitution, Human Rights and Education" (Dennis J. Ritchie); (12) "Colombia: Model for the Study of Latin America in the International Baccalaureate Curriculum" (Barbara J. Schindler); (13) "A Latin American Case Study: Coffee Based Agriculture in Colombia" (Anthony C. Thoman); and (14) "A Resource Book for Reading/Visualizing Two Colombian Novels: 'Maria' by Jorge Isaacs and 'Love in the Time of Cholera' by Gabriel Garcia Marquez" (Barbara A. Welder). (BT)

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Seminar Title:

"COLOMBIA, MANY COUNTRIES IN ONE:
ECONOMIC GROWTH, ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY, SOCIOCULTURAL DIVERGENCE AND BIODIVERSITY.
PROFILE AND PARADOX"

(June 6 - August 3, 1997)

SO 029 705

- VOLUME I -

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SEMINAR OVERVIEW

Seminar Title:
"Colombia, Many Countries in One: Economic Growth, Environmental Sustainability, Sociocultural Divergence and Biodiversity: Profile and Paradox."

Dates:
July 6 to August 3, 1997

Academic Coordinator:
Henry Hanssen, Ph.D.

Seminar Description:
The seminar will focus on the environmental challenge posed by the country's biodiversity, which is among the richest in the world. It will address the relationship between the last decade of Colombian economic development and the country's sociocultural situation, taking into account its historical background and the role of natural resources in a context of sustainable development.

The seminar will include an objective analysis of the state of the art concerning the country's sociocultural and sociopolitical situation. Health conditions, education, living style, economy, geographical ecology and environmental aspects of Colombia's wealth will be discussed in the academic portion of the seminar, along with the historical development of the country and its people.

The traveling phase of the seminar will include visits to three important regions:

1. **the coffee producing areas located in central Colombia, to understand the coffee culture as the traditional basis of the Colombian economy and the role of the coffee region as a regulator of ecology and hill-agriculture;**

2. the southwest part of the country, to study agricultural ecosystems and industrial development based on some of the world's most advanced technology in the field of tropical agriculture; and

3. the Caribbean region to become familiar with the ecological diversity of high mountains, deserts, coral areas and mangrove swamps. The traveling phase will end with the visit to Cartagena de Indias, one of the most interesting historical cities and a world heritage site.

Participants will receive assistance in identifying resources for their individual seminar projects. These will enable them to expand and improve their teaching or curriculum development work with respect to economic, ecological, environmental, and sociohistorical issues concerning Colombia.

Objectives:

- Introduce participants to Colombia's historical and sociocultural development
- Analyze and discuss, with participants, the reasons behind the sociopolitical situation in Colombia
- Understand the national and international dimensions of Colombia's biodiversity
- Describe the relationship between health, education, the economy and socioenvironmental problems in the context of sustainable development
- Understand how coffee has developed historically and as part of Colombian culture, and its impact on national development
- Understand the dynamics of industrial and agroindustrial development in Colombia
- Describe the reasons for the new constitutional order in Colombia
- Become acquainted with Colombia's multiethnic nature and its contribution to the sociocultural development
- Become acquainted with the fundamental development of tropical agricultural development in Colombia and worldwide

Methodological Framework :

Each participant is responsible for a critical-holistic analysis of the concept and general objectives of the seminar and for the topic selected for an individual project.

The following components have been selected as basic methodological parameters for a critical-holistic analysis:

Context:

- Description of Colombia's general characteristics, its main social, economic, political, demographic and environmental indicators and others considered fundamental by the participant as a frame of reference for the topic on which they will develop an individual project. Participants will be required to substantiate their reasons for selecting said topic.

Process:

- Lecturers and panel members will determine contents concerning the topic of the lecture or panel discussion. Basically, topics will be described in a historical context, including problems defined by the lecture or panel. Participants are expected to take advantage of the lecture by participating in a very active way, posing questions and voicing concerns regarding solutions to the problems described.

Content:

- Strategies for topic analysis will be indicated during the lecture or panel discussion. Participants are expected to take advantage of the lecturer's expertise to resolve their concerns about lecture topics and/or topics chosen for individual projects.

Condition:

- Lecturers and panel members will try to indicate, specify and explain the elements determining the topic subject to the analysis, including both inherent and external factors, making it possible to define the topic structurally.

Situation:

- Lecturers and panel members will describe the current situation or state of art with respect to the topic for analysis, comparing similar or divergent situations found in other countries. Tendencies and prospectives will also be taken into account, with an eye toward a solution or for a situation of major complexity.

Product/Results:

- The seminar objective, accomplished through lectures and individual projects, is to help participants understand the situation in Colombia, its main problems, possible solutions, and ways to achieve them.

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(alphabetical order)

VOLUME I

1. ALFARO, ANA MARÍA.

Present Position:

Associate Professor in Spanish, Castleton State College, Castleton VT 05255

Project Title:

"Costa Atlátnica - Niños de las Regiones de Colombia" [Children in Colombia's Regions]

2. FRADEL, JOSHUA L.

Present Position:

Teacher, Centreville Middle School, 231 Ruthsburg Road, Centreville MD 21639

Project Title:

"Lessons on Colombia. Three Focus Lessons on Colombia for Middle School"

3. GAULKE, RICHARD L.

Present Position:

Professor of Economics, Ellsworth Community College, 1100 College Avenue, Iowa Falls IA 50126

Project Title:

"Not indicated"

4. JONES, MYRA H.

Present Position:

Instructor, Developmental English, English Composition, and Literature. Manatee Community College, P.O. Box 1849, Brandenton, FLA 34206

Project Title:

"Women's Issues in Colombia: A Preliminary Bibliography"

5. KING, CHARLOTTE P.

Present Position:

Associate Professor of Business Spanish and French and Spanish and French Literature, Louisiana State University in Shreveport, LA.

Project Title:

"Curriculum Unit on Colombia: Politics and Biodiversity"

6. KLEIN, DENNIS A.

Present Position:

Professor of Spanish, University of South Dakota, Department of Modern Languages, 414 E. Clark Street, Vermillion, South dakota 57069-2390.

Project Title:

"The Romantic Force of Nature in Jorge Isaacs' María"

7. LOCH, SHERRY L.

Present Position:

Professor of Developmental Psychology, Paradise Valley Community College, Maricopa Community Colleges, 18401 North 32nd Street, Phoenix, AZ 85032

Project Title:

"Aging Across Cultures"

Note: **VOLUME II** includes the following projects:

8. MERANTO, ONEIDA J.

Present Position:

Assistant Professor in Political Sciences, Metropolitan State College of Denver, Campus Box 43, P.O. Box 173362, Denver CO 80217-3362.

Project Title:

Not well defined.

9. MOLLICA, SISTER DENISE M.

Present Position:

Teacher/Chairperson of Family Living Studies Department, West Philadelphia Catholic High School, 4501 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia PA 19139-3516.

Project Title:

"Food/Nutrition in Colombia"

10. PREDMORE, WILLIAM R.

Present Position:

Teacher in History and Government, Daemen College, 4380 Main Street, Buffalo, N.Y. 14226 14226

Project Title:

"The African Presence in Colombia: Can National Identity Include Ethnic Identity?"

11. RITCHIE, DENNIS J.

Present Position:

Coordinator of Field Education and Professor of the Social Work Department, Nazareth College of Rochester, 4245 East Avenue, Rochester New York, 14618-3790.

Project Title:

"The Relationship Between the New Constitution, Human Rights and Education"

12. SCHINDLER, BARBARA J.

Present Position:

Teacher and Social Studies Supervisor, Oklahoma City Public Schools: Classen School for Advanced Studies, 1901 N. Ellison, Oklahoma City, OK 73106

Project Title:

"Colombia: Model for the Study of Latin American in the International Baccalaureate Curriculum"

13. THOMAN, ANTHONY C.

Present Position:

Teacher of Social Studies, NYC Board of Education, John F. Kennedy High School, 99 Terrace View Avenue, Bronx, N.Y. 10463

Project Title:

"A Latin American Case Study: Coffe Based Agriculture in Colombia"

14. WELDER, BARBARA A.

Present Position:

Instructor Spanish/English, Bee County College, 3800 Charco Road, Beeville, TX 78102

Project Title:

"A Resource Book for Reading/Visualizing Two Colombian Novels: María by Jorge Isaacs and Love in the Time of Cholera by Gabriel García Márquez.

"Costa Atlántica"

Internet: Una herramienta eficaz para conocer Colombia

por

Ana María Alfaro-Alexander

Castleton State College

Fulbright-Hays Seminar:
Colombia 1997.

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Introducción

El propósito de esta unidad es dar un ejemplo a los profesores de lenguas extranjeras, en este caso el español, de como la información obtenida por medio de Internet puede ayudarlos a integrar en sus clases una parte de la cultura de los diferentes países de habla hispana y así no sólo lograr una buena adquisición del idioma sino de la cultura también.

El material seleccionado para esta unidad es:

Van Vliet, Esmeralda. ***La Costa Atlántica.*** Niños de las Regiones de Colombia. Instituto Colombiano de Antropología.
Dirección Internet: http://www.banrep.gov.co:80/biblio/bvirtual/infantil/ianco01.htm

Esta Unidad fue diseñada para 25 estudiantes de secundaria/preparatoria con un nivel intermedio-avanzado. La clase es de un tiempo aproximado de 50 min. La metodología de evaluación queda a discreción del maestro.

DIA UNO

Actividad de Pre-Lectura

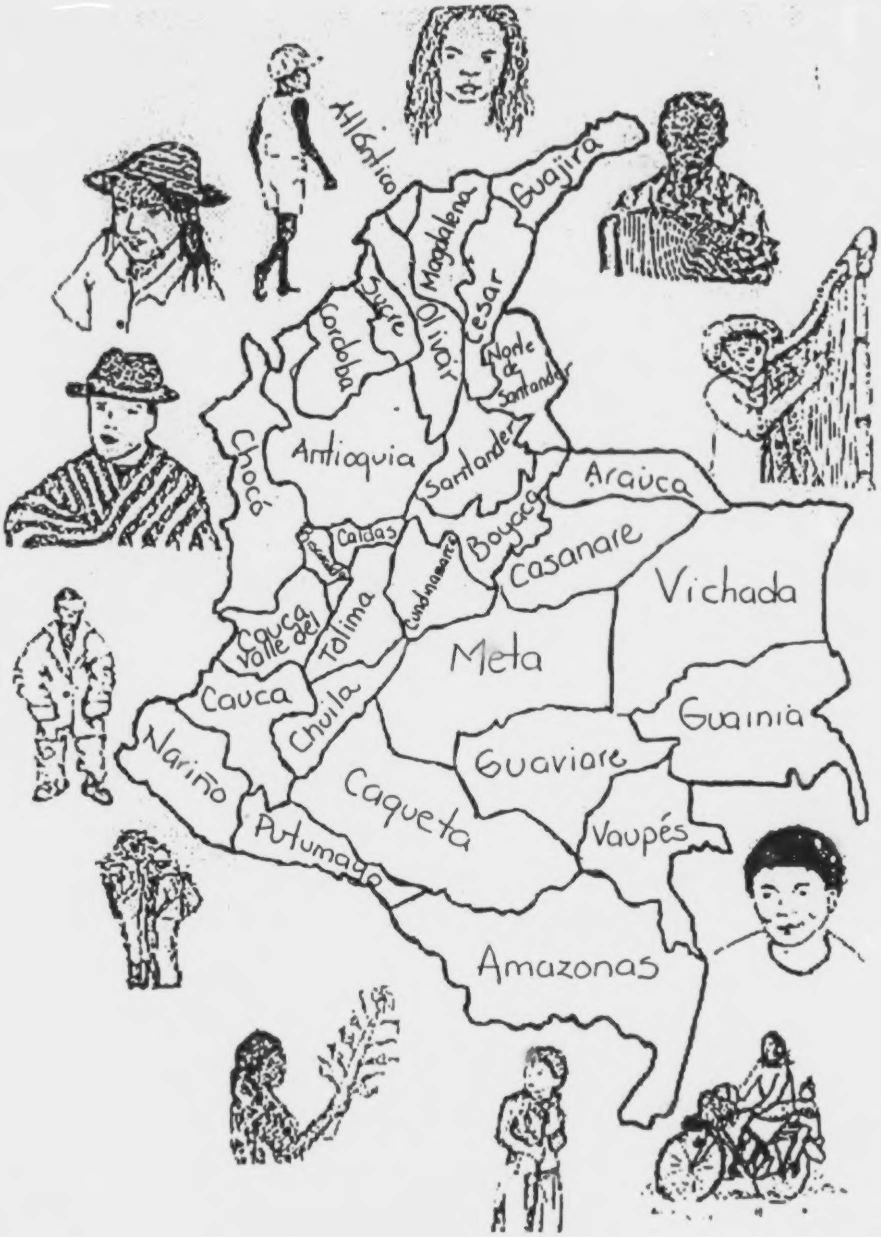
NOTA: El maestro debe pedir a los alumnos que busquen información sobre Colombia la clase anterior.

1. El maestro pide a los alumnos toda la información que hayan encontrado sobre Colombia.
2. Los alumnos deberán anotar en el pizarrón lo que consideren más importante.
3. El maestro señala en el mapa de Colombia la "Costa Atlántica" que es el tema de la unidad presentada. Se puede utilizar un acetato.
   Opcional: El maestro puede dar información sobre esta región.

Actividad de Lectura

1. El maestro forma equipos de cinco personas (esto puede variar dependiendo del número de estudiantes presentes).
2. El maestro reparte a cada equipo un sobre con 5 partes del texto. Los alumnos ordenan el texto de forma coherente. **Nota:** El maestro anota el vocabulario nuevo a un costado del pizarrón para repasarlo al final de la clase.
3. Cada equipo escribe en el pizarrón su parte de texto. Después como grupo deciden el orden de las partes.
4. El maestro entrega copias del texto original.
5. Los alumnos comparán su trabajo con el original.
6. Los alumnos y el maestro discuten la razón y el porqué de su organización.
7. Los alumnos y el maestro hacen un repaso del nuevo vocabulario.

TAREA: Los alumnos leen la historia titulada "Costa Atlántica" y localizan los verbos en pretérito e imperfecto utilizando diferentes colores.



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COSTA ATLANTICA

Me llamo Zulma María. Vivo en la ciudad de Ciénaga, cerca de Santa Marta. Esta tierra es bananera. Hace tiempo se plantó aquí muchísimo banano y se construyó un ferrocarril.

Los trabajadores cortaban la fruta, ponían los racimos al borde de las plantaciones y en una carreta tirada por bueyes los transportaban hasta las estaciones del tren. En los vagones se llevaban hasta el puerto.

Allí los embarcaban en los vapores que salían hacia Europa y Estados Unidos.

Pero un día, los trabajadores de las plantaciones hicieron una gran huelga. Pedían que la empresa norteamericana, que era dueña de las bananeras, cumpliera con los derechos que la ley colombiana daba a los trabajadores. La huelga terminó cuando dispararon sobre una reunión de muchos huelguistas en la plaza de Ciénaga.

De esa terrible noche habla Gabriel García Márquez, nacido en un pueblo de esta zona bananera, en su novela "Cien Años de Soledad".

En recuerdo de esa fecha se puso en esta ciudad, el monumento al trabajador bananero, que hizo el escultor Rodrigo Arenas Betancourt.

Esta es también tierra de ciénagas. Tengo un amigo que vive en la Ciénaga Grande de Santa Marta. Su casa se levanta en el agua sobre pilotes. Tiene un pequeño patio construido con las conchas molidas de ostras y caracoles.

Mi amigo navega en su canoa clavando el camalete en el lodo. Pesca en la ciénaga abierta, lanza su atarraya, bucea a pulmón y a la tarde extiende la vela de su bote y regresa.

Conoce las aves que vuelan sobre la ciénaga. Pelícanos, flamencos, tijeretas, martín pescadores...; los animales que andan entre los árboles: mapaches, puerco espines ... y los que pasan por las raíces de los mangles: tortugas, cangrejos, babillas y caimanes.

Una vez me contó que saliendo del manglar descubrió huellas de patas y de un vientre arrastrado escuchó chillidos y vio un caimán hembra que escarbaba las hojas del suelo y sacaba con su boca a los caimancitos llevándolos al agua.

La gente de aquí vive como el caimán: entre el agua y la tierra. Todos celebran las tradicionales "Fiestas del Caimán".

Pero ya no se va para Barranquilla: está casi desaparecido. Son las familias las que se van a vivir a Barranquilla, porque como el agua de la ciénaga se estanca, se producen muchas enfermedades.

La entrada de agua dulce a la ciénaga se ha ido taponando y disminuyendo. Los caños traen mucho barro debido a la erosión que se produce por la tala de los bosques. Además, la construcción de la carretera cerró el ingreso de agua salada del mar. De muchos mangles sólo quedan sus esqueletos.

Mi amigo se pregunta: "Si las ciénagas están moribundas, ¿de qué viviremos?".

Alejandro Obregón denuncia el desastre ecológico de las ciénagas en muchas de sus pinturas.

Esta información fue tomada del Internet:

Van Vliet, Esmeralda. ***La Costa Atlántica.*** Niños de las Regiones de Colombia. Instituto Colombiano de Antropología. http://www.banrep.gov.co:80/biblio/bvirtual/infantil/ianco01.htm

DIA DOS

Actividad de Repaso

1. El maestro pide a los alumnos que digan en voz alta los verbos en pretérito e imperfecto que encontraron en la lectura "Costa Atlántica".
2. El maestro divide el pizarrón en dos. Se les pide a los alumnos que escriban en el pizarrón ejemplos de oraciones (tomadas del texto) tanto en imperfecto como en pretérito.
3. El maestro hace el contraste entre ambos tiempos.
4. Los alumnos realizan ejercicios escritos (fill-in-the-blanks) en la lectura "Selva".
5. Los estudiantes reciben una "Sopa de Letras" para repasar el vocabulario visto en clase. Ejemplo: Bananera, Ciénega, Ostras, etc.

TAREA: Los alumnos tienen que hacer una composición utilizando los verbos en pretérito e imperfecto. Utilizando los textos "Costa Atlántica" o "Selva" como ejemplo.

SELVA

Mi bisabuelo Benito ______ (ser) un aventurero que se ____ (ir) del Tolima al Putumayo, a trabajar como recolector de caucho.

El caucho es un líquido lechoso que se extrae del árbol llamado caucho, que en lengua indígena significa "árbol que llora."

Los trabajadores hacían cortes en la corteza de los árboles y colocaban recipientes donde recolectaban el látex.

Cuando se __________ (comenzar) a utilizar el caucho para fabricar llantas, se ______ (iniciar) la gran explotación de estos árboles. Un señor llamado Arana, ______ (formar) con socios ingleses, una de las empresas más poderosas para la extracción del caucho en el Putumayo. Los recolectores _____ (ser) en su mayoría indígenas que _______ (vivir) en la región.
Les________ (entregar) hachas y otras herramientas y los _________ (obligar) a trabajar. Si se_______ (negar), ________ (asaltar) sus malocas y __________ (mantener) como rehenes a sus mujeres y niños. Si no _________ (entregar) la cuota de caucho, _______ (ser) torturados o asesinados por hombres armados encargados de vigilarlos.

El caucho se _________ (llevar) a Manaos, pueblo brasileño, ubicado en plena selva a orillas del río Amazonas. Allí lo ___________ (embarcar) en grandes navíos hacia el extranjero.
Manaos se _________ (convertir) así en un gran centro de comercio y de lujo. Se __________ (contruir) la Casa de la Opera. ________ (tener) arañas de cristal, murales pintados al óleo y columnas de mármol.

Las damas ataviadas con plumas de garza, diamantes y brillantes, _________ (asistir) a escuchar las compañías de ópera europeas, del brazo de señores vestidos con tela inglesa de lino, que mandaban a lavar a Europa. Se __________ (hacer) elegantes reuniones en lujosísimas casas. Sentados en sillones de seda tomaban burbujeante champaña en copas de plata. En los azulejos de las salas de baño, ___________ (brillar) las tinas de porcelana y los grifos de oro con cabeza de león.

En esos momentos, nadie ___________ (sospechar) que un inglés se __________ (haber) llevado semillas de caucho de contrabando, engañando al jefe de aduanas, diciendo que _________ (ser) especies para los jardines de su majestad la reina de Inglaterra. Estas semillas se ___________ (plantar) en Asia.

Tiempo después unos periodistas __________ (publicar) denuncias de las crueldades que se _________ (cometer) contra los indígenas. El escándalo que se ____________ (producir) ________ (poner) fin a los excesos de la empresa. Por otra parte, las plantaciones de caucho que _____________ (surgir) en Asia, dieron tanta producción que ____________ (hacer) perder importancia al caucho amazónico.

Mi bisabuelo se __________ (enfermar) de malaria, pero se _________ (salvar) de que lo "tragara la manigua" (perderse en la selva) y _________ (regresar) al Tolima

Años después ________ (ir) mi abuelo, quien en la época de la violencia, ________ (decidir) buscar mejor vida. Se ______ (venir) a vivir al Guaviare y no _______ (volver) a salir. Aquí nacimos mi papá y yo.

Una vez, ________ (hacer) juntos un largo viaje por varios ríos y nos internamos en la selva. Allí ______ (ver) la anaconda más larga que jamás había imaginado: medía más de diez metros. Mi papá me _________ (explicar) que para atraparla hay que saber la presión con que se debe sujetar la cabeza. Inmediatamente hay que coger la cola, aunque dé impresión sentir su fría piel.

Cuando ______ (ir) a zambullirme en el río, me _______ (decir) que no _______ (deber) hacerlo. ________ (tener) que nadar sobre la superficie y entre la corriente, porque en lo profundo me _______ (poder) paralizar un temblón o pez eléctrico.
Muchos animales ________ (ser) perseguidos por su carne o por su piel y ahora están en vías de extinción: el manatí, la nutria, la tortuga charapa, …

A pesar de que los árboles _________ (estar) apretados codo con codo y no __________ (dejar) pasar ni un rayito de sol, mi papá _________ (saber) dónde estaba el norte y ________ (reconocer) la trocha.

SELVA

Mi bisabuelo Benito **era** *un aventurero que se fue* del Tolima al Putumayo, a trabajar como recolector de caucho.

El caucho es un líquido lechoso que se extrae del árbol llamado caucho, que en lengua indígena significa árbol que llora.

Los trabajadores hacían cortes en la corteza de los árboles y colocaban recipientes donde recolectaban el látex.

Cuando se *comenzó* a utilizar el caucho para fabricar llantas, se *inició* la gran explotación de estos árboles. Un señor llamado Arana, *formó* con socios ingleses, una de las empresas más poderosas para la extracción del caucho en el Putumayo. Los recolectores **eran** en su mayoría indígenas que **vivían** en la región. Les **entregaban** hachas y otras herramientas y los **obligaban** a trabajar. Si se **negaban, asaltaban** sus malocas y **mantenían** como rehenes a sus mujeres y niños. Si no **entregaban** la cuota de caucho, **eran** torturados o asesinados por hombres armados encargados de vigilarlos.

El caucho se **llevaba** a Manaos, pueblo brasileño, ubicado en plena selva a orillas del río Amazonas. Allí lo **embarcaban** en grandes navíos hacia el extranjero.

Manaos se *convirtió* así en un gran centro de comercio y de lujo. Se *construyó* la Casa de la Opera. **Tenía** arañas de cristal, murales pintados al óleo y columnas de mármol. Las damas ataviadas con plumas de garza, diamantes y brillantes, **asistían** a escuchar las compañías de ópera europeas, del brazo de señores vestidos con tela inglesa de lino, que mandaban a lavar a Europa. Se **hacían** elegantes reuniones en lujosísimas casas. Sentados en sillones de seda tomaban burbujeante champaña en copas de plata. En los azulejos de las salas de baño, **brillaban** las tinas de porcelana y los grifos de oro con cabeza de león.

En esos momentos, nadie **sospechaba** que un inglés se **había** llevado semillas de caucho de contrabando, engañando al jefe de aduanas, diciendo que **eran** especies para los jardines de su majestad la reina de Inglaterra. Estas semillas se *plantaron* en Asia.

Tiempo después unos periodistas *publicaron* denuncias de las crueldades que se **cometían** contra los indígenas. El escándalo que se *produjo puso* fin a los excesos de la empresa. Por otra parte, las plantaciones de caucho que *surgieron* en Asia, *dieron* tanta producción que *hicieron* perder importancia al caucho amazónico.

Mi bisabuelo se *enfermó* de malaria, pero se *salvó* de que lo "tragara la manigua" (perderse en la selva) y *regresó* al Tolima

Años después *fue* mi abuelo, quien en la época de la violencia, *decidió* buscar mejor vida.

Se *vino* a vivir al Guaviare y no *volvió* a salir. Aquí nacimos mi papá y yo.

Una vez, *hicimos* juntos un largo viaje por varios ríos y nos internamos en la selva. Allí *vi* la anaconda más larga que jamás había imaginado: medía más de diez metros. Mi papá me *explicó* que para atraparla hay que saber la presión con que se debe sujetar la cabeza. Inmediatamente hay que coger la cola, aunque dé impresión sentir su fría piel.

Cuando *fui* a zambullirme en el río, me dijo que no **debía** hacerlo. **Tenía** que nadar sobre la superficie y entre la corriente, porque en lo profundo me **podía** paralizar un temblón o pez eléctrico.

Muchos animales *fueron* perseguidos por su carne o por su piel y ahora están en vías de extinción: el manatí, la nutria, la tortuga charapa, ...

A pesar de que los árboles **estaban** apretados codo con codo y no **dejaban** pasar ni un rayito de sol, mi papá **sabía** dónde estaba el norte y **reconocía** la trocha.

Esta información fue tomada del Internet:
Van Vliet, Esmeralda. ***La Costa Atlántica.*** Niños de las Regiones de Colombia. Instituto Colombiano de Antropología. http://www.banrep.gov.co:80/biblio/bvirtual/infantil/ianco01.htm

SOPA DE LETRAS

A K S O U N R I M C H D S Q K T L S O
J M B U E B A N A N E R A J V N X Q L
K O K A M O K Z O N R G R O A S A S I
S R C V F P Q A U E O P Z K W O Y F K
T I L B N E L N P L S H S P B T B E T
N B D W G O C B W F I Q A L O P Z R P
P U M C O I M A Q M O J U S X E C R S
O N E X A W R C I G N S T M C C J O D
S D N R A L G N A M W R C B Y O D C F
A C F Y H X N D R H A K V U D L K A G
G S Ñ O P A S H X S X N D C Z O E R I
A T G D I S E T O L I P W E E G L R J
N X O I G Y Ñ R S I A L E A H I F I N
E U H L J B T E O N Y T S R S C M L K
I Y P L R Z O I T S C M X O F O G R N
C V I I K E U F V J Z U P N Ñ Q N T L
A Z Q H S C S A T E R E J I T A H V O
T W J C L F P G U K B N Y Ñ G R C U M
I A R Z T D V J Y N D V F Q I U I W P

1.____________________
2.____________________
3. ____________________
4. ____________________
5.____________________
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7. ____________________
8. ____________________
9. ____________________
10.____________________
11.____________________
12.____________________
13.____________________
14.____________________
15.____________________

SOPA DE LETRAS

A K S O U N R I M C H D S Q K T L S O
J M B U E B A N A N E R A J V N X Q L
K O K A M O K Z O N R G R O A S A S I
S R C V F P Q A U E O P Z K W O Y F K
T I L B N E L N P L S H S P B T B E T
N B D W G O C B W F I Q A L O P Z R P
P U M C O I M A Q M O J U S X E C R S
O N E X A W R C I G N S T M C C J O D
S D N R A L G N A M W R C B Y O D C F
A C F Y H X N D R H A K V U D L K A G
G S Ñ O P A S H X S X N D C Z O E R I
A T G D I S E T O L I P W E E G L R J
N X O I G Y Ñ R S I A L E A H I F I N
E U H L J B T E O N Y T S R S C M L K
I Y P L R Z O I T S C M X O F O G R N
C V I I K E U F V J Z U P N Ñ Q N T L
A Z Q H S C S A T E R E J I T A H V O
T W J C L F P G U K B N Y Ñ G R C U M
I A R Z T D V J Y N D V F Q I U I W P

1. BANANERA
2. OSTRAS
3. FERROCARRIL
4. MANGLAR
5. PILOTES
6. CIENAGA
7. EROSION
8. DENUNCIA
9. CAIMAN
10. CHILLIDO
11. CAÑOS
12. MORIBUNDAS
13. BUCEAR
14. ECOLOGICO
15. TIJERETAS

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

DIA TRES

Actividad de Pre-Lectura

1. Los estudiantes oyen música de vallenato mientras entran en el salón de clase y reciben copias de la actividad.
2. Después de escuchar un poco de la música se les pide que lean en voz alta el coro de la canción.
3. Se forman equipos de cinco personas (esto puede variar según el número de estudiantes presentes).
4. Cada equipo pone música al coro de la canción. Puede ser la música de la canción que más les guste o alguna canción popular.
5. Cada equipo tiene que cantar su versión de la canción y los demás equipos tienen que adivinar el nombre de la canción.
6. Los alumnos escuchan la canción una vez con atención.
7. Los alumnos realizan el ejercicio de escritura (fill-in-the-blanks) mientras escuchan por segunda vez la canción. Se puede tocar otra vez si es necesario.
8. El maestro revisa las respuestas de los alumnos con la canción.
9. Se canta a criterio del maestro.

LA TIERRA DEL OLVIDO

CARLOS VIVES-IVAN BENAVIDES

Como la luna que alumbra
Por la noche los caminos
Como las hojas al viento
Como el sol espanta al frío.

Como la tierra a la lluvia
Como el mar espera al río
Así espero tu regreso
A la tierra del olvido.

Como naufragan mis miedos
Si navego en tu mirada
Como alertas mis sentidos
Con tu voz enamorada
Con tu sonrisa de niña
Como me mueves el alma
Como me quitas el sueño
Como me robas la calma.

Tú tienes la llave de mi corazón
Yo te quiero
Más que a mi vida
Porque sin tu amor yo me muero (bis)

Como la luna que alumbra
Por la noche los caminos
Como las hojas al viento
Como el sol espanta al frío.

Como la tierra a la lluvia
Como el mar espera al río
Así espero tu regreso
A la tierra del olvido.

Tú tienes la llave de mi corazón
Yo te quiero
Más que a mi vida
Porque sin tu amor yo me muero (bis)
Yo me muero (cuatro bis)

LA TIERRA DEL OLVIDO

CARLOS VIVES-IVAN BENAVIDES

Como la luna que ______
Por la noche los caminos
Como las hojas al viento
Como el sol _______ al frío.

Como la tierra a la lluvia
Como el mar _______ al río
Así ___________ tu regreso
A la tierra del olvido.

Como ________ mis miedos
Si __________ en tu mirada
Como________ mis sentidos
Con tu voz enamorada
Con tu sonrisa de niña
Como me _________el alma
Como me ________el sueño
Como me ________ la calma.

Tú tienes la llave de mi corazón
Yo te quiero
Más que a mi vida
Porque sin tu amor yo me muero.(bis)

Como la luna que _______
Por la noche los caminos
Como las hojas al viento
Como el sol ______ al frío.

Como la tierra a la lluvia
Como el mar ________ al río
Así ____________ tu regreso
A la tierra del olvido.

Tú tienes la llave de mi corazón
Yo te quiero
Más que a mi vida
Porque sin tu amor yo me muero (bis)
Yo me muero (cuatro bis)

DIA CUATRO

Exposiciones Orales

Esta clase se puede realizar de dos formas:

Primera forma:

1. El maestro divide el grupo en equipos el día anterior (dia tres) y les asigna una región de Colombia para presentar en la clase al día siguente. Las regiones son las siguientes:

    a) REGION ANDINA
    b) COSTA PACIFICA
    c) LLANO

2. Los alumnos hacen la investigación de dicha región en Internet utilizando la siguiente dirección:

    http://www.banrep.gov.co:80/biblio/bvirtual/infantil/ianco01.htm

3. Cada equipo presenta oralmente el tema asignado. Los demás alumnos hacen preguntas.
4. La clase se puede terminar con un repaso del vocabulario aportado por los alumnos.

Segunda forma (en caso de no contar con el acceso al Internet):

1. El maestro divide el grupo en equipos el día anterior (día tres).
2. Les asigna una región de Colombia para presentar en la clase al día siguiente entregándoles el material en fotocopias.
3. Cada equipo presenta oralmente el tema asignado. Los demás alumnos hacen preguntas.
4. La clase se puede terminar con un repaso del vocabulario aportado por los alumnos.

REGIÓN ANDINA

- Manuela de Santander
- Leonidas de Boyacá
- Wilson de Bogotá
- Mauricio de la región cafetera

~~~~~~~~~~~~Antioquia~~~Caldas~~~Risaralda~~~Quindío~~~~~~~~~~~~~

Me llamo **Manuela.** Vivo en el campo cerca de **Bucaramanga.** Cultivamos tabaco y cacao.

Mis hermanos y yo cuidamos los almácigos de tabaco. Lo cosechamos y llevamos las hojas verdes al caney. Allí las enhebramos con una aguja y cabuya. Después las colgamos para dejarlas secar protegidas de la lluvia.

También recogemos el cacao. Yo tuesto las pepas, las pelo, las muelo y les agrego azúcar. Con esa masa hago bolitas; las dejo secar y las guardo en un talego colgado en la cocina. Todas las mañanas las voy sacando para preparar el chocolate que tomamos servido con arepas.

Para las onces comemos bocadillos de guayaba. Los trae mi tío Francisco que vive en Vélez.

Mi tío es un artesano que hace tiples. Cuando viene a visitarnos nosotros le cantamos el bambuco "Hágame un tiple maestro".

> *"Hágame un tiple maestro*
> *pero hágame un tiple bueno*
> *que toque y toque bambucos*
> *y cante bambucos viejos".*

(E. Moncada)

El nos enseña adivinanzas:

> *"Un abuelita*
> *titiritaña*
> *sentada en la caña"*

(La mazorca)

Coplas:
~~~~~~~~~~~~

Coplas:

"En una playa diarena
me cogió un invierno diagua,
comiendome un queso 'e leche
y una panela de caña".

Y leyendas:

EL JINETE NEGRO

"En la época de la Colonia vivía en Ocaña un caballero muy rico, llamado Antón García de Bonilla. Tenía grandes haciendas y muchos esclavos. Don Antón se paseaba todos los días en su negro potro. Después de su muerte y hasta hoy, los ocañeros dicen oír en las noches las coces de su caballo sobre las calles empedradas, y hay quienes afirman haberlo visto caracolear llevando un figura montada, cubierta con una capa y un gran sombrero negro, a veces lleva un cigarro encendido"

LA MANCARITA

"Había una vez una señora manca llamada Rita que inventaba cuentos con chismes y enredos, creando discusiones entre la gente. Por su maldad fue condenada a vivir en los bosques de la cordillera y alimentarse de raíces y frutos silvestres. Algunos dicen que han visto a una mujer de cabellera larga y desgreñada; aseguran que es la MANCARITA".

Cuando tu vengas a visitarme te haré probar las famosas hormigas culonas.

~~~~~~~~~~~~~

Boyacá es tierra de papas y de trigo, de peras y manzanas y también de caña de azúcar, de carbón, de esmeraldas y de lagunas llenas de leyendas.

Me dicen Leo, pero me llamo **Leonidas.** Mi casa está en aquella colina. Tenemos muy poquita tierra. Como no nos alcanza para vivir, mi abuelo le enseñó a mi papá el trabajo de polvorero y él me enseñará a fabricar voladores, bombas y castillos. Es un oficio peligroso, las manos de ellos tienen varias quemaduras. Los voladores salen con fuerza, suben derechito y allá arriba explotan creando un paraguas de luces. Los castillo se pierden poco a poco, formando figuras.

Hemos ido a muchas fiestas a llevar pólvora: A los festejos del "Aguinaldo Boyacense" en Paipa. Durante nueve días antes del 24 de diciembre, desfilan carrozas
~~~~~~~~~~~~~

con representaciones del pesebre.

A las Rogativas a San Isidro Labrador, santo que quita la lluvia y pone el sol. Los campesinos van en procesión, arando y llevando la imagen del santo.

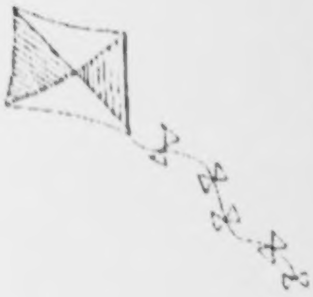
Al Festival Nacional de Bandas de Música en Paipa.

Al Festival Nacional de Juegos Pirotécnicos y al Festival Nacional de las Cometas, en Villa de Leyva.

EN AGOSTO

Daba cuerda a su cometa
Jorgito, junto al papá;
raudo Eolo aquí y allá
sacudía el ala inquieta
El sangriento sol moría
en el ancho firmamento ...
mientras más soplaba el viento
más la cometa subía.
Una nube al ágil vuelo
de la cometa velo,
y al punto de niño exclamó:
¡papacito, se entró al Cielo!

(Julio Florez Poeta Boyacense)



En las fiestas, hombres y mujeres, con sombrero, pañolón o ruana, bailan pasillos, bambucos, guabinas y torbellinos. Las guitarras, tiples y bandolas son ejecutadas por tríos o estudiantinas.

Cuando bailan la "danza de la trenza" las parejas entrelazan las cintas que cuelgan de un palo, tejiendo y destejiendo una trenza.

En otros bailes recitan coplas como éstas:

"Nosotros los guatecanos
vamonos para Guateque
a coger la mazorquita
antes de quel maíz se seque"
"Allá arriba en aquel alto

teng' un gavilán arando,
una culeca con pollos
y un zorro esta vigilando"

Siempre subo y bajo la montaña en bicicleta. Me gustaría más ser corredor de bicicleta que polvorero.

Cuando mi mamá me sirve la changua (caldo de leche y huevo), la mazamorra o el cuchuco de trigo, me dice que debo comer para tener fuerzas y llegar a ser un buen "escarabajo".

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Me llamo **Wilson.** Vivo con mi abuela en la Candelaria, antiguo **barrio bogotano** de casas con bellos balcones y puertas de madera tallada; de calles con nombres: "Calle del Susto", de "Los Chorritos", "Del Sol", "De La Paz", "De la Botica"...

En este barrio vivieron poetas como José Asunción Silva, autor de "Los maderos de San Juan".

¡Aserrín!
¡Aserrín!
¡Aserrán!
Los maderos de San Juan
piden Queso, piden pan
los de Roque
alfondoque
los de Rique
Alfeñique
¡Los de Triqui, Triqui, Tran!
y en las rodillas duras y firmes de la abuela,
con movimiento rítmico se balancea el niño
y ambos agitados y trémulos están.
~~~~~~~~~~~~~

La abuela se sonríe con maternal cariño
mas cruza por su espíritu como un temor extraño
por lo que en el futuro, de angustia y desengaño
los días ignorados del nieto guardarán
Los Maderos de San Juan,
piden queso, piden pan
Triqui, triqui,
triqui, tran!

Cuando los cerros que están detrás de mi barrio amanecen despejados y azules, subo a Monserrate y me entretengo reconociendo las casas con sus techos de tejas rojas.

Mi abuela me enseño una canción que dice:

"El que Bogotá no ha ido
con su novia a Monserrate
no sabe lo que es canela
ni tamal con chocolate"

Los domingos me prepara el "chocolate santafereño, que es chocolate acompañado con tamal, huevos pericos o almojábanas.

Si hay pandeyuca yo le canto esta copla:

"Señora, vendame un pan
porqu' aquí llegó en ayunas
que yo endespués se lo pago
cuando la rana eche plumas".

Allá viene la chiva. Ya se escucha el resoplar de su motor. En las curvas aparece como un armadillo cargado de bultos, canastos, hombres, mujeres y niños.

Cada chiva tiene su propio nombre. Esta se llama "La Consentida". Están decoradas con pinturas de paisajes o santos y en el lugar del conductor llevan adornos o un pequeño altar con luces.

Ya llegó la chiva, subamos "compa". Siéntese a mi lado y te iré contando algo de este lugar que tiene corazón de café.

~~~~~~~~~~~~~

Me llamo **Mauricio**. Nací en estas montañas mis bisabuelos eran colonos
~~~~~~~~~~~~~

antioqueños que arreando sus caminadoras mulas, cruzaron quebradas y llegaron a estas tierras. Hacha en mano, tumbaron selva, abrieron caminos y plantaron café.

Mi abuelo, vestido con sombrero aguadeño, (hecho en Aguadas), carriel (cartera de cuero peludo con alforjas o bolsillos) cruzado, quimbas de cuero crudo o alpargatas y poncho, anda siempre, por los cafetales con un tabaco en la boca, entonando un bambuco.

El me enseñó a cuidar las planticas de café recién nacidas, que parecen chapolas (mariposas) y a recoger los granos maduros.

Cuando las plantas llegan a la edad adulta parecen novias cubiertas de perfumadas flores blancas. A los casi nueve meses nacen los frutos.

Con los bejucos "quiebrabarriga" o "tripa de perro" hacemos los canastos que llevamos atados a la cintura para recoger los frutos "jechos", que son los rojos.

En costales de fique y a lomo de mula llevamos los granos a la máquina despulpadora. Los dejamos fermentar, los lavamos y los ponemos a orear en cajones de madera, patios, techos o al costado de la carretera. Cuando está seco, lo vendemos

Las chapoleras y los peones me han contado muchas leyendas

LA PATASOLA

Es defensora de los animales del bosque. Lleva cabellera enmarañada y tiene una sola pierna en forma de tronco de árbol, que termina en una pezuña. Cuando los cazadores van persiguiendo a sus presas, ella borra los rastros . Deja en su lugar la huella de su pezuña, en sentido contrario hacia donde escapan los animales.

LA LLORONA

Con dolor llora y llora, buscando, río arriba y río abajo, a su hijo que se perdió por un descuido de ella. Dicen que va repitiendo "por aquí, por aquí lo dejé, por aquí, por aquí lo encontraré".

MARIA LA LARGA

Aparece en los pueblos cuando los hombres salen de una fiesta. Los atrae, la siguen *y cuando tratan de abrazarla, María se alarga y se alarga .. los hombres huyen espantados.*

LA MADREMONTE

Es una mujer alta y de caminar ondulante, como si la meciera un suspiro de brisa. Sus cabellos de helechos y lianas son protegidos por un sombrero de flores. Su piel está cubierta de suave musgo y de verdes hojas. Tiene brazos de bejucos y manos de tiernas ramas. Es la diosa guardiana de las selvas.

Cuando se tala un árbol su corazón sufre y de sus ojos brotan lágrimas de rocío. Se enoja y se transforma. Produce tempestades, vientos e inundaciones.

EL HOJARASQUIN DEL MONTE

Posee un frondoso cuerpo de árbol. Se entretiene cambiando de lugar en el monte para desorientar y hacer perder a los leñadores y cazadores que se internan en la espesura.

LOS MENESES

Son chiquillos que en los caminos piden dulces o monedas. Si no les dan, hacen cosquillas y más cosquillas, hasta que uno cae rendido de la risa.

EL PATON

Son unos pies muy grandes que pasan por los caminos, solos, sin el cuerpo.

Cuando viajo en esta chiva, me entretengo mirando, entre las curvas de cafetales y plátanos, las casas coquetas y alegres. Techos de tejas de barro, paredes blancas de adobe, columnas de guadua, puertas, postigos y balcones de madera labrada, pintados de azul, rojo, verde o anaranjado.

Las casas están envueltas en aromas de frutales que traen a mi imaginación, perfumadas pomarrosas, lulos de oro, copos de suave fragancia de guanábana, zapotes amarillos y aterciopelados estuches de guamas.

Los corredores alrededor de la casa son miradores donde a veces se guinda una hamaca y donde no faltan las flores.

hay tantas, que me imagino estar viéndolas sobre los hombros de los campesinos, en el desfile de los silleteros, en Medellín.

Cuando paso cerca de una palma de cera, me gustaría ver trepar un oso de anteojos, buscando cogollos para comer. Pero la tala de bosques los está extinguiendo.

hablando de comer, conoces estas coplas?

El pájaro muchilero

le pregunta al Dios-Te-De
Con ese pico tan grande
cómo come su mercé?
Mi mamá se llama arepa
mi taita maíz tostao
y un hermanito que tengo
se llama plátano asao

⇦Página principal Siguiente⇨

[Banco de República] [Antopología]

Banco de la República

COSTA PACÍFICA

- Anita de Nariño
- Gabriel del Cauca
- Nubia del Valle

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Verá... no, me llamo **Anita** y vivo en **San Juan de Pastos (Pasto)**, al pie del volcán Galeras. Las montañas que rodean mi ciudad están cubiertas por parcelas sembradas de trigo, cebada, maíz, papa y hortalizas yo ayudo a mi mamá en el puesto de venta de artesanías en el mercado de Borboná.

Vendemos sacos y cobijas de lana que mi mamá compra en Ecuador; ruanas tejidas en Cumbal; bailes, aperos y sillas para montar, de los artesanos que trabajan el cuero en Belén, sombreros de paja toquilla (palma de iraca) hechos en Sandoná y bomboneras, bandejas y patos barnizados, que mi familia produce.

Una vez acompañé a mi mamá a Sandoná. Es tierra cálida. Entre sembrados de plátano, caña y fique, trabajan la artesanía de esta palma. Unos la cultivan, otros seleccionan los cogollos y las artesanas hacen el tejido. La iraca tiene hojas alargadas y puntiagudas de casi un metro. De esas hojas alargadas y puntiagudas de casi un metro. De es esas hojas se sacan las finas y resistentes fibras, con las que se hacen los sombreros desde la época de la colonia.

El arte de trabajar el barniz también es muy antiguo. Fue heredado de los indígenas. En nuestra casa mi abuelo le enseñó a mi papá y él a mis hermanos, se utiliza una resina que se extrae del árbol mopa mopa en el piedemonte del piedemonte del putumayo. La lágrima que brota del árbol como una goma, es lo que se usa para obtener el barniz.

Cuando no hay clientes, las vendedoras del mercado conversan y cuentan. Así conocí:

LA VIUDITA

Es una mujer muy emperifollada, que hace mucho con sus enaguas al caminar y asusta a los borrachos.

EL DUENDE BURLON

Que hace travesuras en las casas: destiende la ropa, pone azúcar en la sopa, ahuyenta los perros, las gallinas,... y muchas picardías mas.
~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~

EL DUENDE MALO

Que duerme en la punta de las agujas y le hace trenzas a los caballos.

LA SIRENA DEL ARCO

Es la reina del mar. En el puerto de Tumaco, sale por las noches de su palacio marino y recorre las costas. Los pescadores dicen haberla visto solitaria en la playa.

Me divierto escuchando cuentos como éstos:

Estaba un pastuso gritando orgulloso en un potrero "soy de pasto" y una vaca se lo comió.

Estaba un pastuso llevando una pierna y le gusto levanto la otra y se cayo.

A veces mi mamá trae el almuerzo al puesto. Ella prepara sopas como la juanesca (de cereales y calabaza) y la chara (de cereales y carne de cerdo).

Los domingos con mis hermanitos compramos melcochas con maní, haba tostada y molida con azúcar, colaciones y quimbolitos (panecillos de harina de maíz capio).

Durante gran parte del año la gente se prepara para el Carnaval de Blancos y Negros. El 3 de enero se abre el desfile con carrozas, comparsas, bandas y danzantes. El día 4 desfilan los que representan a la familia Castañeda, con sus animales y sus pertenencias. El 5 nos tiznamos de negro y el 6 de blanco.

En esos días todos miramos temerosos hacia el volcán invocando a la mamitica linda de las Mercedes, para que no llueva porque todos sabemos que:

> *"Morasurco nublado, pastuso mojado".*

Adiosito paisanito!

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~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~

Me llamo **Gabriel** y soy el hijo menor de una familia **payanesa** (de Popayán). Vivo en una antigua casa pintada de blanco y con balcones, desde done se ve la Torre del Reloj. Tiene un patio de piedras rodeado de columnas, en las que cuelgan materas con geranios. En el centro hay una pequeña fuente.

Popayán tiene muchos años. A pesar de los terremotos que se produjeron durante su vida, conserva bellas casas coloniales y enormes casonas que fueron conventos. Aquí vivieron hombres importantes de la historia nacional.

Casi desde que nació la villa se realizan todos los años en Semana Santa las procesiones, tradición que se transmite de padres a hijos.

Los preparativos comienzan con mucha anticipación. Se blanquean los templos y los frentes de las casas, se pintan los balcones y se arreglan las imágenes que se llevan en la procesión.

El "Anima Sola" (alma del Purgatorio) pasa por las calles, haciendo tintinear su campanilla, pidiendo dinero para los gastos.

El Domingo de Ramos, con palmas bendecidas, iniciamos la Semana Santa.

El Martes Santo en la tarde les llevamos chuspas (bolsas) con alimentos a los presos o al ancianato.

Desde el Martes al Viernes Santo se realizan procesiones en la noche.

Se barren las calles y todos cogemos puesto en los andenes para ver los "pasos", que son las imágenes llevadas en hombros por los "cargueros". Estos van vestidos con "túnico" y "capirote" (gorro) azules, cordón blanco a la cintura y alpargatas.

Acompañando los pasos van los "moqueros" que recogen la cera que chorrea de las velas y encienden las que se apagan; la "sahumadora" vestida con traje de ñapanga (traje típico) que esparce incienso, y los "alumbrantes" que llevan cirios encendidos.

Espero impaciente el mes de abril porque participo en las procesiones chiquitas "se hacen en la semana siguiente a la Semana Santa". Son iguales pero los "cargueros" son niños y las imágenes son chiquitas.

Otro mes que me gusta es diciembre, porque armamos el pesebre de trapo, hecho con retazos de tela y festejamos Navidad y Año Nuevo.

Para nochebuena, mi abuela prepara dulces de breva, de arequipe y el "desamargado o nochebuena" que es dulce de naranja agria y limón.

Con mi mamá y mis hermanas hacemos deliciosos buñuelos, rosquillas, hojaldres y empanadas o tamales de pipián. El pipián es el relleno que lleva papa, maní, achiote (condimento) y hogao (cebolla, tomate y ajo).

Mi hermana envuelve los tamalitos en las hojas de plátano y yo los amarro con un cincho.

Para fin de año, con los niños vecinos hacemos el Taitapuro o Año Viejo. Lo rellenamos de aserrín, le ponemos una cabeza de calabazo con cabello de fique, lo vestimos con ropas y zapatos viejos y le enrollamos en su cuerpo una "culebra" (tira) de tronantes o triquitraques.

El 31 de diciembre a las 12 de la noche le prendemos fuego. La pólvora truena y los niños saltamos alrededor, entre gritos y voladores.

~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~

A la hora en que el sol se acuesta, salimos con mi madrina al patio de su finca, cerca de **Cali**. Ella arrastra su mecedora y yo llevo el champús de lulos y piñas (tiene también maíz tierno o arroz, hojitas de limonero, clavo de olor y canela). otras veces cargo mangos biches, chontaduros, tostadas ("patacón pisao") o pandebono.

Me llamo **Nubia**. Todos los años vengo a pasar mis vacaciones aquí. Mi madrina es la mejor cuentista que yo haya conocido.
~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~

A veces hacemos viajes imaginarios. Ayer fuimos a la costa y nos encontramos con el río, la selva y el mar. Vimos los barcos que salían del puerto de Buenaventura seguidos de peces voladores. Los pelícanos realizaban impresionantes clavados ante la mirada indiferente de una vieja tortuga. Algunos novios se llevaban un pedazo de selva en sus bodegas. Iban cargados de madera.

Mi madrina me contó la leyenda de un buque fantasma "El Maravelí" que entra al puerto sin hacer ruido y con luces amarillas que producen espanto.

Regresamos cantando el "chiriguare".

> *"Cerca de la laguna vive el chiriguare*
> *con cara de burro y cola de bagre*
> *chiriguare, chiriguare, chiriguare te va a comé*
> *te va a comé, te va a comé, ya te comió".*

Hoy me habló de su infancia. Recordaba los loros en los guaduales, los chigüiros juguetones; las garzas haciendo sus nidos; los pájaros y las palomas volando entre cacaotales y árboles frutales. Los patos que iban y venían por las "madreviejas" (lagunas poco profundas) y las ardillas que jugaban a las escondidas entre ceibas, samanes y guarumos.

Dice que el paisaje ha cambiado, muchos guaduales han desaparecido y las aguas del Cauca ya no vienen tan limpias.

En las haciendas, se preparaba la tierra para la siembra de la caña de azúcar con pequeños arados jalados por bueyes. Cuando la caña estaba crecida, cuadrillas de corteros la cortaban con sus machetes. Desde la suerte o plantación, la llevaban en carretas tiradas por mulas o bueyes hasta el patio. Allí estaba el trapiche de madera, movido también por animales, que separaba el jugo del bagazo de la caña.

Tiempo después se usaron tractores y se trajeron máquinas. De los ingenios paneleros y azucareros se pasó a modernas empresas azucareras.

Algunos quisieron comprar la tierra a los pequeños propietarios. No faltó quienes amenazaron a los que no querían vender, con quitarles al agua. Como no podían producir su plátano, su maíz, ni su cacao sin agua, tuvieron que aceptar. Mi madrina

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pudo conservar su finca.

Gracias a la caña podemos comer dulces: manjarblanco, grajeas, confites... y las alegres macetas (alfeñiques y figurines de azúcar(. Mi madrina me regla todos los años, para el 29 de junio, día de San Pedro y San Pablo, una maceta. La compra a doña Sixta, en la colina de San Antonio en Cali.

Antes de irnos a dormir me cantó este "porro son". Oí:

> *"trapichito molé, molé*
> *molé la caña morada,*
> *si no la moles ahora*
> *molela a la madrugada*
> *ay! molé la caña morada*
> *señor trapichito, vamos a molé,*
> *a molé la caña p' tomá café*
> *ay! molé la caña morada*
> *señor trapichito vamos a molé,*
> *a molé la caña pa' saca' la miel*
> *ay! mole la caña morada.*

Página principal Siguiente

[Banco de República] [Antopología]

Banco de la República

LLANO

~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~

Me llamo **Martín** y estudio en **Villavicencio**. So hijo de colono llanero. Mis padres tienen una finca en Casanare.

"Ay, si si yo no soy de por aquí
ay, si si yo vengo de Casanare
de la Sabana de Arauca
o del pueblo de Orocue.
Ay, si si el orgullo del llanero
Ay, si si yo te lo voy a contar
buen caballo buena silla
buena soga pa' enlazar.
(Luis Rey)

Me gusta el llano. Yo sé de trabajos de vaquerías, de domas de potros, de coleos, de contrapunteos, de coplas, de arpas y de danzas como el joropo y el galerón.

Los galerones se cantaban cuando arreaban el ganado. Un jinete puntero encabezaba la marcha llevando al toro "padrón". Si el toro dudaba al cruzar un río, las reses se arremolinaban y escapaban. Los vaqueros no podían oponerse porque los aplastaban. Entonces seguían a la tropa y comenzaban a cantar. Después de varios kilómetros detenían su canto. Las reses que se habían acostumbrado a escucharlo, cuando dejaban de oírlo se detenían. Los vaqueros volvían a tomar al toro y recomenzaban la marcha.

Eduardo Carranza es un poeta que nació en los Llanos. Escribió esta poesía llamada Galerón:

Cuando la tierra continúe mis venas
hacia la rosa roja y el turpial,
el río, la luna y el jacarandá.
Cuando ya sólo el Llano me recuerde
con una palma.
Cuando una venada me adivine
en el temblor del viento entre la yerba,
cuando para nombrarme, de repente,
vuele del pecho abierto del Ariari
gavilán.

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~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~

Cuando ya el negro potro, tembloroso,
no me espere en la puerta de mi casa
donde mi arpa y mi lanza estén colgadas
y en la alta noche azul cante mi estrella
de capitán.
Quiero que bailes, bailes sobre el polvo
que ha de contar mi historia enardecida,
entre la luz y el viento que me oyeron,
sobre la tierra que nos vio, que bailes
piernas desnudas, pelo delirante
un galerón.

También sé de leyendas. Dicen que en los plenilunios la indiecita Mapiripana, abanicándose con una hoja de palmera, pasa navegando por el río Orinoco en una concha de tortuga.

Hace muchos años llegó un misionero que quiso capturar a la indiecita Mapiripana. Escondido en la playa, la vio llegar con su vestido de telarañas. Siguió sus pasos y sin darse cuenta se fue internando en una caverna. Allí, en castigo, quedó encerrado muchos años. Un día logró fugarse por el río. La indiecita al saberlo puso piedras y creó los raudales. El río comenzó a bajar violentamente como por unos escalones. Al llegar al raudal de Maipures el misionero se atemorizó. Arrepentido regresó a la cueva. Allí encontró a Mapiripana columpiándose entre enredaderas florecidas. Ella lo perdonó y el dedicó el resto de su vida a la oración. Cuando murió se transformó en una mariposa de inmensas alas azules.

Cuentan que a los que mueren de fiebre en esa región, se les aparece la mariposa.

Y ahora me despido con esta copla:

> *"Sobre los Llanos la palma*
> *sobre la palma los cielos*
> *sobre caballo yo*
> *y sobre yo mi sombrero".*

Página principal Siguiente

[Banco de República] [Antopología]

Banco de la República

DIA CINCO

1. Los alumnos hacen una investigación de Colombia utilizando Internet como fuente de información.

2. El maestro les da diferentes direcciones como guía para que realicen dicha investigación. Esto se puede realizar dentro del tiempo de la clase si se cuenta con el equipo necesario o se puede dejar como tarea.

Ejemplos de direcciones de Internet:

http://www.lanic.utexas.edu/la/colombia
http://www.yahoo.com/search?p=colombia

TAREA: Los alumnos entregarán un reporte de una página acerca de la información encontrada.

Lessons on Colombia
Three Focus Lessons on Colombia for Middle School

Joshua L. Fradel
United States Department Of Education
Fullbright-Hays Program
in cooperation with
Comision Fullbright Colombia
October 25, 1997

The three lessons on Colombia are intended to introduce Colombia to middle school students much in the same way we as educators would introduce any country. Students, if they have any view, will tend to view Colombia very stereotypically. Emphasis is placed on facts and their interpretation so that students will have a base of knowledge about Colombia which is not tied to the drug trade, poverty, or violence. All three can be found in Colombia but these aspects do not represent the aspirations of the people of the country.

The three activities in this packet should take between four and seven days to complete. It is highly recommended that they be done in order so that each activity builds upon the knowledge gained in the previous activity. The better the quality of your references the easier you will find the activities to complete. It may be neccessary to modify some of the activities because the references available are not sufficiently detailed. If you are so fortunate as to have better references available than the author then, by all means, embellish the instructions.

There are several suggested activities at the end of this short unit. These extension activities are to give a range of ideas that could capitalize on whatever resources are available. Suggestions on additions, corrections or other improvements should be sent to the following address:

Joshua Fradel
Centreville Middle School
231 Ruthsburg Rd.
Centreville, Md 21617

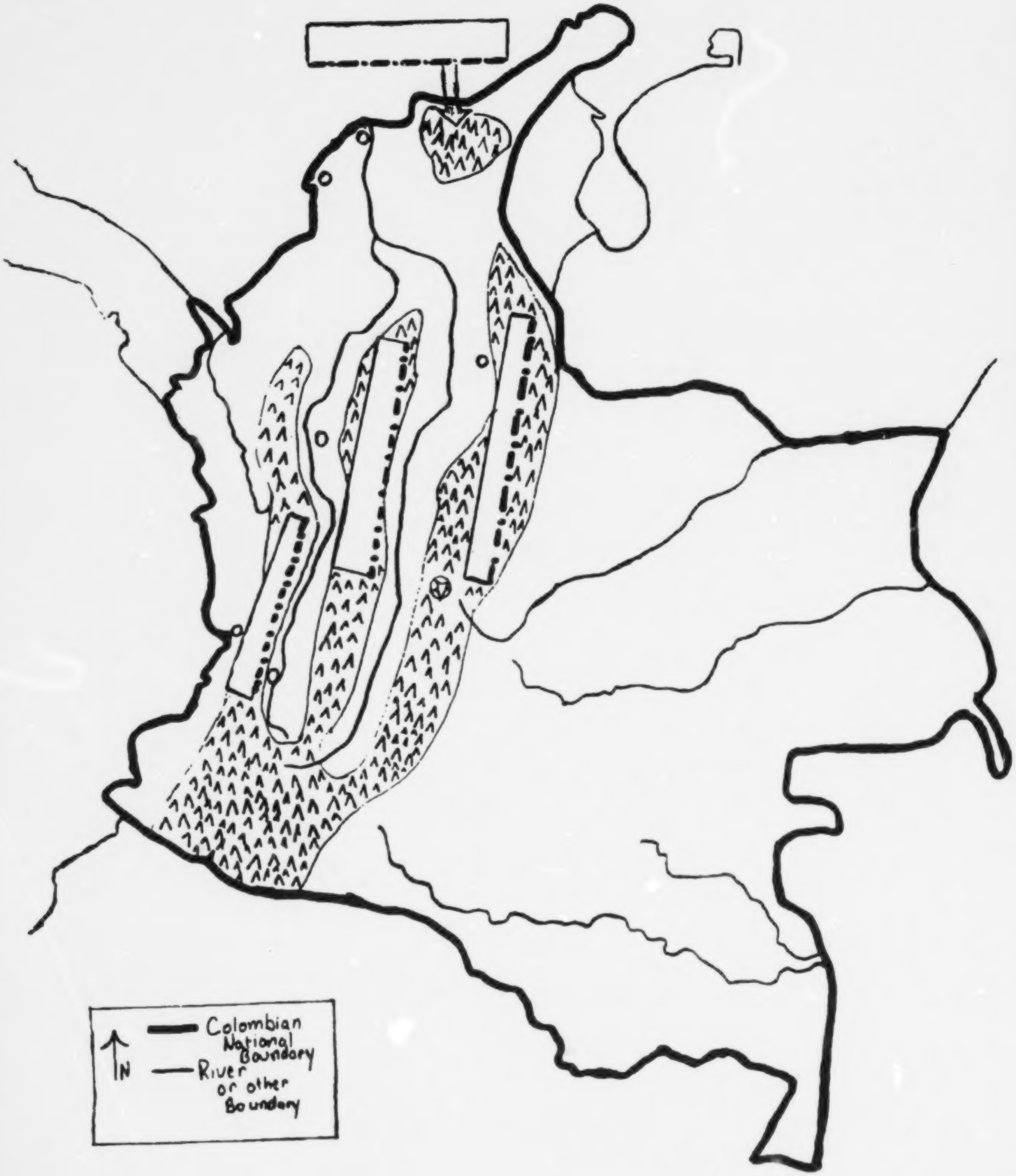
I. Geography:

Objective: Familiarize students with the principal physical features and regions of Colombia.

Materials:
- Outline map of Colombia- Provided
- Colored Pencils
- Atlas (Nystrom's Desk Atlas was used in preparing this activity.)

Procedure:

1. Review with students basic map procedures; start in pencil, include five essential elements of a map (direction, title, scale, symbols, and key), follow instructions, strive for neatness and accuracy.
2. Provide each student with map and instructions.
3. Group students in cooperative groups.
4. Monitor progress.


Colombian National Boundary
River or other Boundary
N

Physical Features of Colombia

I. Colombia's territory is divided by three branches of the Andes Mountains. Each one of these branches is called a cordillera (cord-ee-yera). Logically they are called the Western Cordillera, Central Cordillera, and Eastern Cordillera. One other range of mountains are of importance in Colombia. These mountains are in the north along the coast of Colombia are called the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta.

1. Locate the mountains and label each cordillera of the Andes Mountains in the space provided.

2. Locate the mountains along the northern coast of Colombia. Label them the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta in the space provided.

3. Shade the areas designated as mountains with the symbol ^^^^^ brown.

II. Colombia has coasts on the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean. In this way it is similar to the United States by having access to both the Atlantic Ocean and Pacific Ocean for trade. Colombia has many important rivers. The Magdalena and the Cauca Rivers start in the Andes Mountains and flow north to join together and then empty into the Caribbean Sea. Many other rivers flow east to empty into the Orinoco River in Venezuela or the Amazon River in Brazil.

1. Using an atlas locate and label the Caribbean Sea and Pacific Ocean.

2. Using an atlas locate and label these rivers;

Magdalena River
Cauca River
Meta River
Guaviare River
Apaporis River
Caqueta River
Atrato River

3. Trace the rivers that empty into the Orinoco River- blue.

4. Trace the rivers that empty into the Caribbean Sea- red.

5. Trace the rivers that empty into the Amazon River- orange.

III. Cities in Colombia have grown up in the valleys of the Andes Mountains along side the rivers. The largest of these is Bogota. Bogota is also the capital city of Colombia. Bogota is usually shown on a map with a star. Cali and Medellin are large trade centers in the Cauca River Valley. Bucaramanga is Colombia's fourth largest city but lies further to the east. Three coastal cities have developed as ports. On the Pacific Ocean Buenaventura has become a center for shipping and on the Caribbean Sea the cities of Cartegena and Barranquilla.

Using the atlas locate these cities and then neatly label each where you find the "O" symbol.

Bogota Bucaramanga Cali Medellin
Barranquilla Cartegena Buenaventura

IV. Three major vegetation regions other than coastal plain and Andean Highland exist in Colombia.

1. Amazon Rain Forest- Starts just south of the Meta River, just east of the Eastern Cordillera and runs all the way to the southern and eastern borders of Colombia. Shade this area light green.

2. Eastern Grasslands or Pampas - Extends from the Meta River to the Colombian border in the north and the mountains to the west. Shade this area yellow.

3. Pacific Coastal Rainforest- This region runs the entire length of Colombia's Pacific Coast from the Panamanian border to the border of Ecuador. To the east it runs up to the Western Cordillera of the Andes. Shade this area green.

II. People:

Objective: Students will be able to describe the diversity of the population groups in Colombia in terms of ethnicity, religion, and culture.

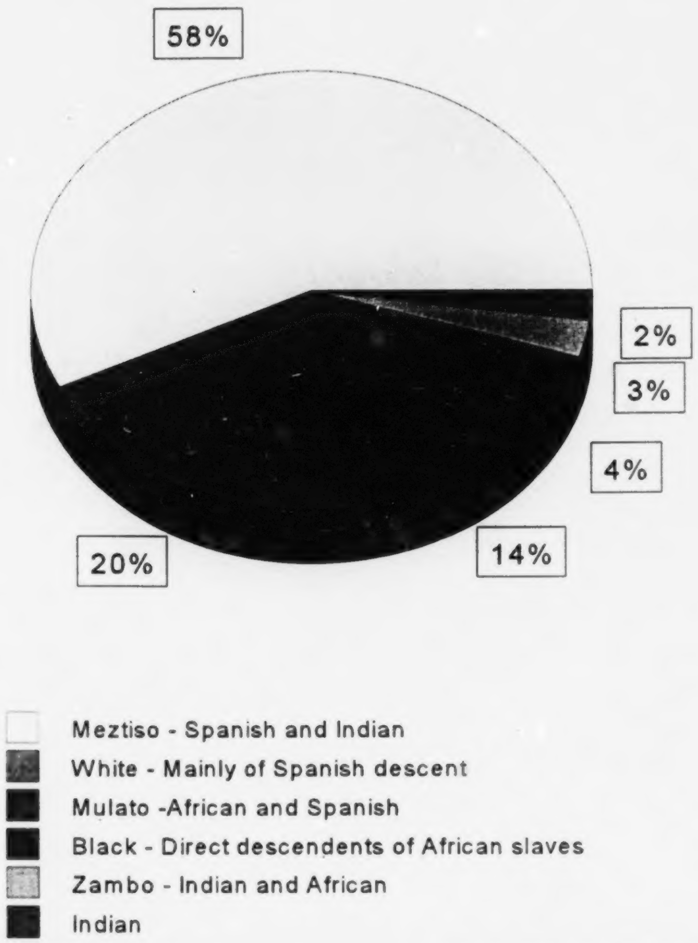
Materials:
- Source sheet with questions - Provided
- Almanac or other references
- Dictionary
- Chart Paper

Procedure:

1. Pass out source sheet "Colombia's Ethnic Groups"
2. In cooperative groups have students complete questions 1-3.
3. Have students share their answers. Have them explain their process of how they figured out their responses.
4. In their groups have them complete 4 and publish their predictions on chart paper.
5. Have each group present their predictions.
6. Using the references(it would be great if they could use the whole library) have them complete the fifth activity.

Colombia's Ethnic Groups

Est. Population 37 Million



ook up the meaning of the word ancestry. Then use the chart above to answer these questions:
. What three ancestries are common in Colombia?

. What groups of people in Colombia have mixed ancestry?

. What ancestry is shared by more people than any other in Colombia?4. Based on the chart
ake predictions about the cultural traditions of the people of Colombia. Make sure to address
he areas of language, religion, and customs you think are effected by the ancestry of
olombia's population.

. Use an almanac or other reference to verify if your predictions were correct. Write a
graph summarizing what you now know about the people of Colombia.

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II. Economy:

Objective: Students will be able to identify the major resources and export products of Colombia.

Materials:
Source sheet and questions
Atlas
Almanac or other reference

rocedure:

1. Provide each student with materials.
2. Group students in cooperative groups.
3. In their groups have students complete activities 1-3.
4. Have students share their findings for number 3.
5. Students can complete number 4 individually.

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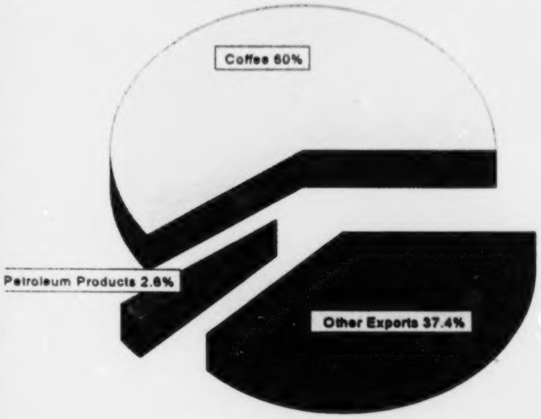
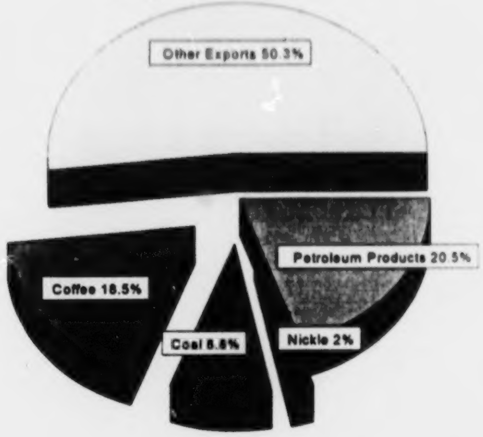
Economic Change and Growth in Colombia


Exports 1980


Exports 1991

Study the differences between the two graphs. At first it would seem coffee production has declined over the past ten years. This is not true. Colombia's other products have increased in value when compared with coffee. Keep this in mind as you complete the following activities.

1. What new exports did Colombia develop between 1980 and 1991?

2. Look in an almanac or other reference to identify what products are included in the segment of the pie graph labeled "other exports." Record what you find.

3. Summarize in a paragraph the changes that have occurred in Colombia's economy in the period shown on the graphs.

4. Using an atlas identify where deposits of coal, oil, silver, iron, and gold are located in Colombia. Design your own symbols for each and add them to the map you worked on in the geography section of this unit.

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deas for other activities:

*Make a very common food of Colombia, arepas con caso.
   -Cornmeal with a small amount of water to a stiff dough.
   -Roll into 1 inch round balls and flatten to about a quarter inch.
   -In a pan with a small amount of vegetable oil bake each side until just crisp.
   -Top with a small amount of cheese and heat until just melted.

*Get an album of Latin American music. Listen for the variety of beats and instruments compare it to African, Spanish, and Indian music. You might even try a book of dances and try a few.

*Have students put together a tour of Colombia including as many regions and cultures as possible. Illustrate it with pictures from magazines.

CURRICULUM PROJECT FOR 1997 COLOMBIA FULBRIGHT-HAYS SEMINAR

BY PROFESSOR RICHARD GAULKE
ELLSWORTH COMMUNITY COLLEGE, IOWA FALLS, IOWA-50126
United States of America

November 3, 1997

I. PROJECT DESIGN

My project is an audio-visual module about Colombia for college classes, faculty in-service, adult education, and community groups.

A. **ORGANIZATION.**

1. SLIDES. The show uses 139 color slides to give impressions of the great diversity that exists in Colombia. Most of the slides are my own creation. I am grateful to the Fulbright Commission in Colombia for furnishing a complete set of slides that included areas of Colombia that our group did not personally experience. I thank the Commission for their furnishing such a useful educational aid. The slides show is stored in a single Kodak Carousel tray ready for projection at any time.

2. CASSETTE TAPE NARRATION. A cassette tape scripted narration accompanies the slide show. I typed the script using information gathered during the seminar from sources to whom I now wish to express my deep appreciation. There were so many wonderful and helpful sources and I thank them all. Special thanks to:

1. Henry Hanssen, Ph.D., the Seminar Academic Coordinator
2. Mr. and Mrs. Hawkins and Peg Willingham at the U.S. embassy in Bogota
3. Santiago Echavarria, Relaciones Publicas, Federacion Nacional de Cafeteros de Colombia
4. Oscar Jaramillo, Director De Comunicaciones, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana
5. David Craft, Director General of Lucent Technologies BCS Colombia
6. Evaristor Obregon Garces, Rector, Fundacion Universidad de Bogota
7. Adolfo Meisel Boca, Banco de la Republica in Cartagena
8. Ms. Alexandra and Coinvertir of Bogota

I used a microphone to record the scripted voice narration. Then I mixed it with typical South-American music to produce a master tape that is informative and easy to listen to.

3. THE PRESENTATION. I use a large screen in a darkened room and a high quality portable sound system to play and amplify the taped narration/music. I adapt the presentation to the type of audience. For example, in my college class in Macroeconomics I use the show as we cover the topic of economic development and international economics. The economics text is our source and I get the students to relate Colombia's situation to the theoretical models in the text. I add articles and comments from current newspapers that relate to Colombia or South America to explain why Colombia and South America is important to U.S. interests. For a community group I focus on the geographic and biological diversity and the culture of the people.

B. **PROJECT.** The project guidelines require that the slides themselves not be submitted. If anyone desires to see the images described in this paper please contact Professor Richard Gaulke, Ellsworth Community College, Iowa Falls, Iowa 50126. My telephone is 515-648-4611 Extension 317 (E-mail at rgaulke@iavalley.cc.ia.us).

C. **SUPPLEMENTS**. There are several supplements that I use when the show is presented to general interest audiences.

pre-show test---used to find out how much the audience knows about Colombia. It takes less than two minutes and helps create interest in the topics covered in the show.

post-test---the same questions used on the pre-test that should now be easily answered after viewing the slide show.

SCRIPT

I participated in the Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminar to Colombia in 1997 and this script is designed to satisfy that program's curriculum project requirement.

SLIDE	NARRATION
Dark screen.	(South American music sets the mood)
1	(music only)
2	I was selected by the U.S. Department of Education to study the economy and culture of Colombia on a month-long Fulbright summer seminar.
3	We landed in Bogota, the capital of 5 million people. Bogota is at an altitude of 8,600 feet high in the Andean Mountains. The altitude keeps Bogota cool year-round. Most of the people live in western Colombia- many in high mountain valleys and very few in the eastern lowlands.
4	This Spanish speaking country of 35 million has a long democratic tradition. The new 1991 constitution is several hundred pages long and has been carefully crafted to protect the rights of its' diverse peoples.
5	Spaniards built an empire and plundered the newly discovered country for its' gold. They waged war with the natives to set up colonies with the mercantilistic purpose of taking wealth from this New World.
6	Many native people died from the wars and lack of immunity to the diseases brought with the European invaders. Many of those that did not die were enslaved to produce wealth for the Spanish.
7	The mythical land of El Dorado survives in all it splendor in the Gold Museum in Bogota. The Museum was founded in 1939 and today holds more than 33,000 objects in trust for present and future Colombians.
8	In the 1600's the Spanish built this fort in Cartagena on the

Pacific coast. Cartagena de Indias was founded in 1533 and is considered to be one of the most important cities of the Spanish era on the Caribbean coast.

9 The fort protected the gold being shipped to Spain. Sometimes marauding pirates attacked the city because it was a major site for the collection and storage of gold. The more notorious pirates included HENRY MORGAN AND SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

10 In 1819 general Simon Bolivar defeated Spain. For this he is called the liberator of America. Nearly every town in Colombia honors his memory with a "Simon Bolivar" square.

11 His house is preserved as a museum in Bogota and is a popular attraction.

12 Political disorder and violence have troubled Colombia during much of its history. Assassinations, riots, warfare, and banditry have left hundreds of thousands killed in this century.

13 Government troops patrol the streets in areas subject to guerilla attack. According to the U.S. State Department, 2/3s of Colombia has been abandoned by government forces and is controlled by guerilla groups in South America's oldest and deadliest civil conflict. Hundreds of thousands of poor and less skilled rural people suffer and flee for refuge to the cities every year.

14 Christianity came to Colombia with Spanish Catholic priests. They built magnificient churches with altars covered in gold.

15 Church steeples in every town remind us that spreading the faith to the "New World" was an important goal of the Spanish conquest.

16 Nearly all Colombians are active Roman Catholics. Simon Bolivar's statue in this typical central village square with the main cathedral across the street suggests the close relationship between church and government. The constitution does guarantee freedom of worship and evangelical Christians are having a growing impact in the country.

17 Deep inside this mountain near the town of Zipaquira, 50 kilometers north of Bogota is the unique "Salt Cathedral".

18 Vast dark caverns like this one were once were mined for salt over the centuries are now used for worship. This illuminated cross stands 80 feet tall behind the altar in the main sanctuary.

19 The main cathedral in Bogota is a gathering place for the religious and tourists. Take the cable car to the white church on the mountain at the upper left for a great view of Bogota.

Page 3 of 11

20 This spectacular view of Bogota reveals a modern city of middle and upper class. The rural Colombians, called campesinos, have poured into the nation's cities. Many lack the skills needed for city jobs.

21 Modern high-rise buildings contrast with city tugurios filled with poverty, unemployment,slum housing, and high crimes rates.

22 Most of Colombia's small but wealthy and influential upper class are descended from early Spanish settlers. They form a tightly knit group and earn their income from large land holdings, business, and industry.

23 Traffic jams are continuous in Bogota. There is no subway or commuter rail service so taxis and buses are very economical and used extensively.

24 Bogota is an important cultural center with theaters, museums, and art galleries. It is the center of creative talents for much of South America.

25 The oil industry is booming and becoming more important in Colombia's balance of trade. A private security guard ordered me not to photograph this Shell Oil headquarters building located near our hotel. Kidnapping is now a major income for guerillas. Consequently businesses are taking more measures to gain tighter security.

26 The pipeline to these oil storage tanks on the Atlantic coast has been blown up several times by guerillas. These disruptions have not prevented oil from becoming a very important export.

27 Modern health care is available. The government is improving basic health care throughout the nation. The sign in Spanish translates as a health clinic for women.

28 At this geographic institute skilled cartographers operate the latest technology to produce information helpful in aiding economic development and exploration.

29 A few years ago drug-lord terrorists murdered half of the nation's Supreme Court judges. Today the drug-lords have much less power due to the ongoing efforts of the Colombian government. The current Supreme Court is now working hard to define the new 1991 constitution. It lays a blue-print for the society that Colombia hopes to be.

30 Buildings show an interesting contrast between Spanish colonial and the modern. There is a national conscience that dictates use of domestic materials like brick and clay tiles.

31 Old parts of the city retain the European/Spanish flavor.

32 Including traditional open courtyards.

33 Faculty offices surround this open courtyard at one of

Colombia's many universities.

34 College students stroll up the steep slope on the way to class.

35 Some classrooms are in the latest "Harvard" style.

36 English is the most popular foreign language for most students. It is demanded by those businesses that deal in the global economy.

37 More Colombians being trained to be expert in the use of computers. These students were using the internet to complete an assignment.

38 Soccer is even more popular than bull fighting. I watched a match here and supported THE BLUE team shouting ARRIBA AZUL (or up blue). Unfortunately drug money is occasionaly laundered by buying soccer teams and other legitimate businesses.

39 School children all over the nation play soccer with real dedication. Their heros are soccer stars.

40 All children between the ages of 7 through 11 must attend school. Homeless children from the poverty stricken tugurios roam the streets and alleys. Most are boys like those shown here.

41 85 per cent of the nation's adults can read and write. Here is the modern campus of one of Colombia's 40 universities. Students from all over the world study here and receive a world-class education.

42 The student lounge has leather chairs for comfort and window walls for a feeling of openess.

43 High school education is patterned after the European model and consists of six years of study. The first four years are mandatory and the last two are taken by those preparing for university. It reminded me of my years lecturing in economics at the "Advanced" level at the exclusive private Holy Cross College in Manchester, England

44 Professional educators are found in both the government and private religious schools. Teacher training is becoming more important as the nation attempts to increase the quality of its education system.

45 The woman nearest the camera is an English teacher from Canada shown at lunch with her students.

46 Most of the middle and upper class city dwellers dress much like people in the United States and Canada.

47 Traditional music and folkdance are taught in the schools. These high school dancers performed for our group.

48 Air travel is a major source of travel between cities.

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49 Three chains of Andean mountains make road travel very time consuming. The rural mountain roads are dangerous due to unsafe bridges and occasional roving bands of guerillas

50 Our 45 minute flight over the Andes from Bogota to Pereira would have taken over 12 hours in this truck.

51 At least 50 of the mountains peak above 20,000 feet and are snow covered year round. It was near here that our plane fell in a severe air pocket and terrified many of my fellow passengers.

52 The mountain valleys have a long history of yielding gold. Most is "alluvium deposit gold" recovered from the sand banks of rivers and streams.

53 Colombia produces nearly all of the emeralds in the world and most are sold to Japan. You should be careful to buy them only from government approved vendors.

54 Part of the charm of the country is found in the capital of the department of Boyaca. It displays a rich colonial past in its white buildings, tiled roofs, and cobblestone street.

55 60% of Colombians are MESTIZO, a mix of native Indian and Spanish. Another 20% are of Spanish descent. 14% are MULATTO BLACK AND WHITE. 4% are descents of African slaves. Only about 1% are of pure Indian heritage.

56 Cattle raising is an important source of income in the grassy plains. It is expanding in the eastern plains along the Orinoco river destroying vast areas of tropical rain forest.

57 In hilly areas cattle are used to till the soil because machines are costly and not practical.

58 Also in the hills are over 200,000 coffee growers represented by one of the world's most recognized images--that of Juan Valdez.

59 The steep slopes of the Andes is a paradise for coffee. Here, high altitude coupled with mild temperatures and ample rainfall, provide a kind of magic for coffee growing.

60 The average plantation covers less than 8 acres. Almost all are owned by small farmers who work their own land without machinery and use only family labor.

61 The home of this coffee grower is quite comfortable and better than most. The veranda gives a view of the steep mountain slopes and the coffee processing machinery.

62 Juan Valdez took time out from his advertising duties and showed me how to pick coffee beans from new pest resistant coffee trees that take five years to reach full production.

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63 We pick only the ripe red berries grown heavy with flavor. Juan will return to this tree many times as the berries ripen naturally. In other countries machines strip all the berries, both green and ripe berries at the same time.

64 2,000 ripe berries supply the beans for just one pound of roasted coffee. That pound is all that one tree will yield in one year.

65 Juan feeds the berries into this de-pulping machine. It hauled from farm to farm much like the old-time threshing machine circles in Iowa.

66 Larger coffee growers may have a larger stationary depulping machine like this one at La Catalina, developed as an experimental project of CENICAFE, the Federation of Coffee Growers technical branch.

67 The beans are spread upon a sunny, concrete patio to dry. Dried green beans are then hulled at a mill, graded, and the only the best beans are selected for export to large multinational roasters in the world market. Coffee remains Colombia's most important export.

68 Some efforts are being made by progessive coffee growers to diversify their income by going into silk-worm production. The worms are grown on racks of mulberry leaves picked from plants intermingled with the coffee trees.

69 The worms go through a ddormant phase before spinning their silk cacoon.

70 The cacoons are taken to this large silk processing plant. COKOSILK is the most important producer of natural silk in Colombia.

71 The silk is spun onto reels and shipped to textile manufacturers around the world. This factory is based on a technological model imported from Korea. The manager of the plant is from Seoul, South Korea, and uses the same management technique that I saw at the Daewoo and Goldstar chaebols while on my Fulbright Summer Seminar to Asia.

72 Not far from the silk factory I saw this jeep type vehicle crowded with passengers standing where they can. In poor nations people must be creative get the most use out of the technology available. In Iowa

73 In small villages horses are occasionally seen.

74 These CABALLEROS are in town for a celebration and horse races.

75 Pereira is a large city in the heart of the coffee district. It is nestled among the rugged and beautiful mountains.

76 Tropical fruits like these are delicious and abundantly available at reasonable prices in modern supermarkets and from street vendors' carts. The vendor will probably speak only Spanish and you should have your pesos ready.

77 The export of fresh tropical fruit has grown in recent years and

mainly supply the European Economic Community. Bananas and sugar cane are also major crops. There has been significant direct foreign investment in Colombia for the production of various agricultural products.

78 This SENORA slices fresh pineapple in the restaurant kitchen. Notice that there are no screens or windows needed because the climate at this altitude in this part of Colombia is mild and relatively free of insect pests. It reminded me very much of my living on the Hawaiian islands. This part of Colombia could attract a much larger tourist demand that it sees at present. I would love to revisit this area.

79 Even washing the dishes, pots, and pans seemed like a pleasant task in the open air kitchen in this restaurant with the open view of lush tropical vegetation.

80 Corn (called maize in Colombia) is the traditional staple food of rural peoples, especially in the mountains. These large crispy ARAPAS are fantastically tasty.

81 This meal has CASAVA soup, a small ARAPA, baked chicken, salad, rice, banana, and a glass of fresh GUAVA juice. I found many of the meals had more starchy foods and less of the lighter vegetables.

82 This restaurant cooks potatos in huge bats of boiling salted water.

83 EL BURRO waits patiently outside the restaurant to carry food scraps to the CAMPESINO'S chickens and pigs. This is example of recycling at its best.

84 Colombia is second only to Holland in the export of fresh cut flowers. When I visited Holland on my Fulbright to England I toured the huge green houses that supplied fresh cut flowers to western Europe.

85 It was a real eye-opener to me to visit mammoth green houses in Colombia and learn that many of the fresh cut flowers sold in the United States are grown here in Colombia. Cololmbia is second only to Holland.

86 Thousands of acres of huge greenhouses are scattered over the savanna near Bogota. They provide lots of jobs for many less skilled women.

87 Rice is also becoming an important crop in the flat lowlands near rivers for the necessary irrigation.

88 Extreme variations in terrain gives Colombia the most diverse plant and animal populations of any nation on earth. There are swamps, deserts, grasslands, rain forests, and mountain slopes.

89 Eager students learn about their country's great diversity in this open-to-the-outdoors school building at the Liceo Ingles de Pereira. The school is a private educational institution founded in 1986 by a group of parents interested in a comprehensive educational alternative. This implies an intellectual, ethical, and cultural formation where family participation contributes to a harmonious

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development of the new human being.

90 Our group visited the outdoor classroom at the La Catalina coffee federation experimental facility.

91 We took this steep trail down into the valley to see a spectacular demonstration plot designed to show coffee growers how to restore and reclaim previously eroded hillsides and polluted drainage water.

92 KUDZU vines cover other vegetation and become a dominant plant. It is a problem similar to that in the southern states in the U. S.

93 Some trails are guarded by statues of mythical creatures from Colombia's ancient past.

94 Exotic plants line the path as we descend.

95 Rising like a pointed spear from the ground is this 6 foot tall giant bamboo also called GUADA. DON'T TOUCH IT! The brown skin is covered with tiny sharp needles and act much like stinging nettles.

96 The bamboo can grow a foot in a day and here is shown sheding its needle covered brown skin. The bamboo is used for many commercial purposes.

97 We pause in the hot shade of this thatched roof for a short rest. I carry bottled water with me from my hotel.

98 This bamboo bridge with its thatched roof carries us high above a stream in the Humboldt Botanical Garden at Marsella. Its name honors the prestigious German naturalits and scientist. Alexander von Humboldt. The Botanical Garden is of great natural beauty and was created by the volunteer labor of the residents of Marsella.

99 Here we view an outdoor classroom filled with elementary school children

100 Little Rodrigez reaches to grab a vine so he can swing like Tarzan during recess.

101 The area of greatest rainfall on earth is here in the El Choco region bordering on the Pacific Ocean.

102 --------------(Indian music only)--------

103 Indigenous peoples use the the rivers for food and transportation.

104 Some Indians live in their tradition ways in the Choco and in Amazonia.

105 These pre-Columbian stone statues show the high degree creative talents of the native population.

106 The illegal export smuggling of exotic birds and wildlife is second only to the drug traffic. There has been an alarming disappearance of many species. The problem arises because of the tremendous demand from bird fanciers and exotic animal collectors

in the rich nations. If there were no demand there would be no trade.

107 This Indian plays the pan-pipe, which is popular in much of Latin America. There are guides that will arrange your stay in an Indian village. You must be in good physical condition and willing to live in less than 5-star accommodations.

108 Handicrafts earn pesos for the village artisans.

109 Some of the northern areas of the mountains are much drier than the Choco or Amazonia regions.

110 The Caribbean region ranges from the driest desert---

111 to the busiest sea port. Barranquilla is the country's main seaport and Colombia's Golden Gate. Situated at the estuary of the Magdalena River, it is noted for its industrial development.

112 Most the the black population lives in the Caribbean coast area.

113 Dancers swish to the hot and spicy SALSA music to entertain the many tourists from round the world.

114 Cartegena is a historically important city that draws many tourists and reminds me of Honolulu with its tourist hotels lining the beaches.

115 The CHIVA bus carries partiers from DISCO to DISCO. A live band rides in the bus and the local liquor, AGUARDIENTE, flows all too freely.

116 Carriage rides are popular in the old part of CARTEGENA. Notice the traditional Spanish style balconies in the background.

117 We stayed in the best five-star hotels and this served to increase the contrast between our living level and that of the poor.

118 There are also very wealthy people who live in mansions---

119 --employ chauffers, maids, butlers, housekeepers, and gardeners because they are in plentiful supply at very low wages.

120 Here the gardener tends the exotic landscaping.

121 Poverty and health problems still plague the country. It is worsening because the government has been forced to spend large sums of money on interrnal defense and security.

122 Shantys of the poor often have no plumbling or garbage service. These are fortunate to have access to electricty and the government is trying very hard to get more dependable electricity to more of the population.

123 Graves in this area of the coast are all above ground due to the high water table.

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124 This quaint eating place had lotsof local atmosphere. .

125 This mangrove swamp grows where the fresh water from the great MAGDELENA river mix with the salt water of the Caribbean.

126 Much of the swamp still has lush vegetation---but---

127 more of it is dead and dying due the construction of a coastal highway which prevents the mixing of the waters.

128 This terrible ecological disaster is compounded by the slash and burn method of clearing more delicate habitat to make way for cattle raising.

129 With coasts on both the Caribbean and the Pacific, Colombia has potential for an important fishing industry.

130 However, methods are traditional---

131 and not very productive.

132 If the fishing villages had an organizationa like that of the coffee growers maybe the industry would become more progressive and valuable..

133 We Americans can escape all this tedium and poverty by taking a speed boat to tropical paradise islands some 40 miles offshore

134 ------(music only)----THE END.

WOMEN'S ISSUES IN COLOMBIA: A PRELIMINARY BIBLIOGRAPHY

by Myra Jones

Compiled during and after a Fulbright Summer

Seminar, 1997

WOMEN'S ISSUES IN COLOMBIA: A PRELIMINARY BIBLIOGRAPHY

INTRODUCTION

Increasingly, we live in a world that is not bounded by our national borders. National economies are tied to international trade agreements, such as NAFTA in the north of the Western Hemisphere, and MERCOSUR in the South. Human development organizations have also crossed borders. Groups like the United Nations have many sub-organizations that are active in collecting data from member countries and promoting development and activism at the local and regional level. Women's equality is one of those social-political-economic issues being addressed in most countries, and women in the Americas have begun organizing to promote social change.

I wanted to explore women's issues in Colombia. To what extent is the women's movement active and effective? What information is available about it? What are the major sources of information? What does the women's movement in Colombia have in common with movements elsewhere? In what ways does it differ? What are the major causes for the differences, if any?

Obviously, this is a big project. Therefore, I plan to submit a preliminary working bibliography for a project that I envision as an ongoing effort. Below, I will make a short analysis of the kinds of information I found, and what it reveals about the women's movement in Colombia. This will be followed by an annotated bibliography of the sources found to date, both within and outside the country. Although one of my sources includes an essay about the Colombian telenovela as a social phenomenon, I have not yet explored popular culture in depth. This would be a useful area to examine to get some idea of how women are depicted in popular culture.

ANALYSIS

Information about Colombian women comes from a variety of sources: first, from the Women's organizations themselves, then from Colombian and U.S. government and other "official" sources, and from Non-Governmental Organzations (NGO's).

Material Generated by the Women's Movement

Material hardest to find was that that came from the women's movement itself, partly because it is fragmented and is not distributed widely. There are a number of reasons for this. According to one source, the women's movement shares the same handicap as all of scholarly publication, because of the nature of the Colombian publishing industry. Although the publishing industry has greatly expanded in the last few years, about 40 percent of the total production is governmental; of the rest, a great deal of the product is for foreign markets, which are driven by considerations of marketability. These same considerations also mean that there is not a good distribution system for scholarly works, which are not very profitable and therefore are published in small numbers.

Another problem is the nature of the women's movement itself. According to several sources, the movement is not unified for several reasons. Guiomar Duenas, a historian from the University of Texas, says that ironically this is partly due to the fact that Colombia, like Mexico, has a tradition of limited democracy which has not been as repressive as the countries with dictators in their histories. Therefore, the women have not had to break openly with the government and therefore the women's movement has not been as militant as in other countries. this situation has also helped encourage a split in the movement between the Professional Middle Class, who are more apt to work with the existing system, and the lower economic class, who are more militant (Duenas, "Algunas Nota Sobre el Feminismo y la Vida Politica en America Latina," 47-8). Duenas adds that the Colombian Women's movement is more recent than others, only becoming active a decade ago (understandable, since women only got the vote in 1954).

Another scholar comments that the women's movement in Colombia has been active and organizing for some time, but it does not have nearly the power and influence that it should, given the number of women who are involved, according to Socorro Ramirez, Professor at Universidad Nacional ("Participacion Politica de las Mujeres: el Reto de Ganar Reconociemiento y Construir la Diversidad.") One reason for this is that women's organizations have traditionally worked at a local level, with issues that could be considered in the "women's sphere": health, education, child nutrition, human rights. They have not directly tried to enter the "masculine sphere"; thus they do a lot of the social work at the local level but do not paarticipate or have decision making authority for issues at the national level. Also, they have not directly addressed the problem of going after power or making institutional changes that would make their participation easier. Elizabeth Quinones Toro says that women need to address "structural obstacles" to their equal participation. Another real handicap has been the lack of money to compete with men in the political sphere. Although Colombian women are considered among the most active politically in Latin America, they are still grossly underrepresented in the seats of power. ("Con Equidad Nueves Sujetos Instituyentes Para la Democracia.")

Juanita Barreto Gama, also a professor at the Universidad Nacional agrees on the necessity of trying to make structural changes. She identifies four barriers to women's participation, one of which is women's invisibility, which is "reproduced daily so that there is an "absence of women in public space." As an example, she notes the fact that women are ignored when the government compiles statistical information , a fact also admitted in a government report on women's status (see below). As another example, she mentions a mural on the University cafeteria wall, depicting the social movement ofthe 70's. In the center is the hero Camilo Torres, surrounded by men who are marching with him. Barreto Gama asks, "Why is there not one single woman in this mural? Where were the women...who participated in the social movements?...What does their absence signify?...In this mural [is] the reallity of Colombian women...." ("Develando Algunos Obstaculos Para la Participacion de las Mujeres," 75-76. She adds that none of the109 Articles of Law 134 of 1994 names women specifically.

Official Information Sources

Official Colombian government sources, as already noted by Ramirez and Barreto Gama above, often do not collect statistics in such a way that they record data that differentiate between men and women in such things as salaries, unemployment, and displacement by violence-- even though such figures would reveal great disparities. This fact is noted even by governmental agencies. A 1994 Report on Equity for Women admitted that "Hasta muy poco, las estadisticas nacionales no publicaban la informacion desegrada por sexos y apenas se comienzaa construir series de datos que incluyen la variable sexo." ("Politica de Participacion y equidad Para La Mujer," 5)

The U.S. also seems to have this blind spot. The current U.S. Library of Congress area Handbook for Colombia, for example, glosses over many of these differences. In its "Contemporary Trends" Section, for example, it does not mention women at all. The section on Health only mentions women in the relative life expectancy figures and in areas that are specifically about women, such as maternal mortality. Women are discussed very superficially in the"Family Life" Section, where it is stated that in the decade of the 1980's there were "increasing exceptions to the traditional concept of a woman's role...."
The bibliography has 293 items. Only ten are written by women and only one item in the bibliography deals with women's concerns (*Women in Andean Agriculture* by Carmen Diana Deere and Magdalena Leon de Leal).

Non-Governmental Sources

This appears to be the best source of information about the status of women and the women's movement in Colombia. Many of these sources are either foreign or international development organizations. Some of these have very complete statistics but often they are in an international or Latin American context, countries are not treated separately, and the information about Colombia has to be teased out. Sometimes, information on Colombia is not as complete as information on other countries.
Many Quasi-governmental or non-governmental international organizations-- particularly the United Nations and its many subsidiaries such as UNESCO and FAO-- are making a real effort to compile and maintain data bases that will be increasingly useful, as base lines become established.

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http://www.igc.apc.org/pbi/colo-e.html#women

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Voices of Colombian Women. Peace Brigades International-- Colombia, A Special report, March 8, 1995. http://www.igc.apc.org/pbi/cop95-00.html an e-mail address: pbicolombia@gn.apc.org

The report begins with a background noting such facts as the fact that in 1982 and 83, 94 percent of all people hospitalized were women who had been attacked. Women accounted for only 5 percent of the disappeared, but about 53 percent of the displaced. The rest of the report is a series of interviews with Colombian women. The report really puts faces on the statistics.

Yeager, Gertrude M., ed. *Confronting Change, Challenging Tradition: Women in Latin American History*. Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1994. #7 in the Series, Jaguar Books on Latin America. The book is an interdisciplinary look at Latin American women. Part I is entitled "Culture and the Status of Women"; Part II is "Reconstructing the Past." Only one entry is specifically on Colombia, an essay by Isaac Holton entitled "Daily Life in Nineteenth-Century Colombia", 81-86. Some of the essays are older or classic statements in the field (such as the essay by Evelyn Stevens, "Marianismo: The Other Face of Machismo"); others are more current. Some of the essays have bibliographies, and the book has a list of suggested readings and a list of suggested films on women..

FULBRIGHT PROJECT

CHARLOTTE P. KING

COLOMBIA, SOUTH AMERICA

"Curriculum Unit on Colombia: Politics and Bio-Diversity"

to supplement H3 317 – Spanish for Business
Gannon University
Erie, Pennsylvania

This project is accompanied by slides and camcorder videos, that will accompany the lectures. It is in its total form at this moment so that it may be adapted to various lectures, that I will be giving to civic clubs, Latin American Civilization classes, and others.

7/10 - Pedro Valenzuela - "Colombian History and Political Development"

In colonial times, Colombia was considered a backwater country not as important or resource rich as Peru or Mexico. As part of the Viceroyalty of Peru, Colombia gained its independence in 1819. The period between 1810-19 or War of Independence created a chaos afterward. The government has always been elitist and run by the crioles or descendants from the Spaniards. These "criollas" did not see independence as a chance to build a new civilization, but wanted to emulate European civilization, using it as the North Star of models. They created nothing indigenous. Their ideas were the liberal democratic ideals of Europe in the 1840's. 1849 saw the emergence of the bipartisan, traditional political parties, Liberal and Conservative. These original two parties have dominated Colombia's history and represent the confrontation of the role of church and state, centralism vs. federalism. The Liberals favored the federal system with a small role for the state, free trade, and no role for the Church. The Conservatives favored free trade with a degree of protection, Christian morality, and a larger state role with the church important. This thought has faded, however, and the prevailing attitude represents not a huge contrast from the U.S. democratic model.

This system does not represent a real democracy, however, although there are elections. One or the other of the parties has been hegemonic, not because of elections but because of the forceful exclusion of the other. From 1863 to 1886, the Liberals or federalists dominated, whereas from 1886-1930 the Conservatives or centralists dominated. Their hegemony was insured through force and not through free elections, as conditions to guarantee free elections did not exist.

In the U.S. after the Revolutionary War there existed a consensus regarding what type of political system was desired, but this did not arrive in Colombia until 1991. Colombia has had 15 constitutions after its wars with no agreement as to what the real model should be. Its confrontations have been bloody, causing instability. There still is no consensus as to what political system is best, resulting in the underlying reasons for the violence. Forceful exclusion has caused cycles of violence followed by periods of accommodation, emanating from a sense of agreement among the elites as to the ideal and fear of the masses! They have always constituted a threat from below causing 9 national civil wars during the 19th century. The Constitution of 1853 liberated the slaves, but the century began with a civil war. 1946 signaled the beginning of the century's second civil war between political parties. During the '30's the Conservatives were in power, and in 1946 the Liberals lost in a split election in which the Conservatives came back. The Communist Party is legal and participates in elections. An exclusion from power generated the dynamic of violence in 1946-53 in which 200,000 were killed and two million displaced. There were underlying conflicts on a regional and ethnic level concerning the land issue not exclusively political in nature.

These two political parties are not disciplined and lack centralized ideas. They consist of a collection of regional bosses ("gasuonales,"?), not ideologically rigid, and which cannot capture the allegiance of the majority of people.

These parties constitute a sub-culture of the country. One is born a member of one or the other, the working class being captured by the Conservatives. The violence threatened the elites who called in the military, but there has been only one military dictator this century (1953-57), different from the history of military coups prevalent in other Latin American countries. The elites cooperate with the military governments which creates not a real dictatorship. Rojas, the military dictator called in in 1953, decided to become independent of the political parties based on his accord with the people and the armed forces. Although the elites could not agree on a policy, they decided it was time for him to go as he wanted a Populist government to include the people but controlled by the military. The elites called in the military to defeat the military which provided a transition back to a civilian government. From 1946-53 the elites provided the political and military command. A change occurred as the political command and guerrillas were inspired by the civilian elites who granted authority to those fighting. The Communist guerrillas resorted to their own armies to confront the regime. The Liberal guerrillas radicalized and separated from the party. Their interest was land. Guytán brought the "bogatazo" wherein a Liberal attempted a project on the support of the working class. He was assassinated in 1948, having enjoyed a large popular following. A charismatic speaker, his project threatened the status quo, and his assassination created a spontaneous "bogatazo, the end for the masses to enjoy the fruits of the Populist movement. This marked the beginning of the real confrontation as the Populists were able to compete with the Communists for the masses. President Alfonso Lopez in the 30's tried to adopt social measures for the lower classes, but was blocked by the elites.

The revolutionary challenge has come from the left, from the Communists, but this in an effort to exclude the previously included. In 1957 the traditional elites returned to the civilian government. In the National Front, the two parties agreed to share the power from 1958 to 1974 when they rotated the Presidency between the Liberals and the Conservatives with limitations on popular elections only, not on the Army. The elected posts were shared equally in the Congress even though the Liberals held the majority. This re-established some political order; most citizens identified with one or the other of the political parties. This responded to the need to put an end to the violence, but depolarized the traditional parties and diluted their differences. Colombians no longer felt any allegiance to any party; competition between the two made no sense as, meanwhile, the country was urbanizing and changing dramatically. The traditional parties were not able to capture the emerging social forces, and these could compete with them. As the country industrialized, foreign and local scholars say this was the reason for the emergence of guerrilla forces.

In the 1960's, no challenging party could participate in the elections. Due to the Cuban revolution and the exclusive character of the elections, youth saw the Cuban revolution as an ideal. This simplistic, focused theory (Che Guevara) saw no need for a long and protracted conflict. Small groups of revolutionaries lit the fire on the prairies.

In 1964 FARC (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia), closely allied to the legal Communist Party, during the violence had organized the revolutionary fighters or Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia. They armed peasants, but these had to stop their confrontations. The elites could not allow areas held by peasants to exist and bombed them. The guerrillas were mobile now, however, numbering 10,000 closely allied to the Communist Party.

The ELN (Ejército de la Liberación Nacional) or Castroite movement captured the minds of the students. Marxist and Christian thought prevailed as the Church debated its role. The Church traditionally allied with the elites, but now Catholic priests such as Camilo Torres led them. Fr. Manuel Pérez is their current leader.

The end of the '60's saw a split within the Communist Party and the confrontation between China and the USSR, the Maoists and the Stalinists. The EPL or Populist Liberation Army with Maoist thinking contained an old general and has now disappeared as a fighting force. It now stands for Esperanza, Paz, Libertad, and is still active. Marxist in the 1970's, new groups within it criticize the old guerrillas as unable to mobilize mass-based movements.

They are now isolated from the struggle of the countryside.

The M19 organized 19th of April, 1970. Rojas, its leader ran and thought he was the winner of the presidential election, but the Conservatives took over. Radio transmissions were suspended and the next morning it was announced that the Conservatives had won. The ANAPO or left wing party with Rojas as its leader resorted to armed struggle since they could not win through the elections. They were not Marxists but Populists, preached that it was not necessary to be Marxist, and started a new project to rescue elements in agreement with the nationalist ideas. They identified with the poor, but preached that it was not necessary to be Marxist.

The leaders from FARC (Communist Party of Colombia) were critical of this project. These supported the armed left, not the legal but the armed left which exerted a great influence.

Present situation: The '80's brought a new conflictive element and new actants, the drug dealers, who had been major marijuana exporters after this was banned in Mexico. Pablo Escobar rose from a small thief as he created channels for exporting this product. He used financial institutions on the international level to launder his money, creating a new violent actor who confronted the state and the left.

The M19 finances themselves through kidnapping. They kidnaped the sister of a drug baron which brought a huge reaction on the part of the drug lords who formed groups to combat guerrillas. They created death squads, death to kidnappers. As right wing actors, the barons became the new capitalists. Politicians connected with them for cooperation. The economic and political class saw a threat to capitalist interests, plus international forces forced the government to confront the lords. This brought strange temporary alliances, the guerrillas in cooperation with the lords to confront the state, and guerilla alliances with the state to confront the lords. These confrontations were weakening the political institutions, but Escobar was dismantled and his military apparatus also which was undermining "democratic" institutions.

The M19 was hard hit by the state although it was a political project that fit many Colombians. Before, they thought defeat of the guerrillas was the answer, but in 1982 the strategy changed. Betancourt? marked the time to negotiate with the guerrillas, producing fifteen years now of trying to negotiate a solution. In 1986 no Colombian guerrillas were in political parties, and this has determined their following since. Cease fires have been arranged to accommodate the voices of the guerrillas.

FARC has created a patriotic union with the Colombian Communist Party, with negative results, however. This entity is still exclusionary. They cannot deal with their differences. The ELN recruited 600,000 members, a significant number, targeted the Patriotic Union, and said no to legal alternatives. 2,500 leaders were assassinated. The case of the Patriotic Union was taken to international tribunals. In 1986-90 the government was still talking to the guerrillas.

The government has realized the need for a new Constitution to reflect the new realities, and in 1991 wrote a new liberal one full of guarantees and recognition of ethnic diversity where before had seen suppression of ethnic differences. Racism is a real phenomenon embedded in the culture. The Spanish and their descendants did a good job of eradicating the Indians. Now there are only about 800,000, 2% of the population, whereas blacks number 21%. The majority is mixed, resulting after independence from the "encounter" of two cultures. As it was really extermination, it was rather a "clash" of two cultures, and in the name of the new culture, the society has tried to suppress both extremes. To be Colombian is to identify with the mixture, and not with ethnic minorities. The struggle is not isolated, but specific.

The 1991 Constitution rescues regional differences, religious diversity, and is decentralized. Principles have to be developed for the new, non-Catholic Christians. In the 1997 election, the traditional Congress which decided the Constitution got the majority, but M19 got 26% of the vote in the new Constitutional Assembly. This created optimism, but two main guerrilla groups refused to participate, FARC and ELN, who are not in political channels but who are very strong. The army almost destroyed ELN, but they now number 3,000. FARC numbers 10,000 armed men who receive their arms from the international black market and Central America.

Why do they grow so fast? In 1994 the guerrillas had 40 fronts, and in 1997 they have 90 fronts. In 1994 they were present in 300 towns, 1,060 in population. In 1997 they are present in 700 municipalities. There are no armed struggles in Bogota. They are more rife in Bucaramanga, a medium-sized city.

The guerrillas engage in: 1) kidnapping; Colombia has the highest rate in the world; 1/2 are guerrillas and the other half common thieves; 2) extortion or "revolutionary action" where they charge money for the right to operate as to oil companies; 3) legal economy - they invest in it; 4) charging taxes to cattle ranchers, etc. in exchange for peace; and 5) drugs. The FARC peasants have to make money as in a capitalistic enterprise. They take care of the drug refining labs for the drug dealers and serve as armed guards. They involve themselves in processing cocaine, and some have formed cartels. They are now rich from many sources and better armed.

In a favorable trend for the guerrillas, they are able to attack army bases, have political control at the local level, decide who can run for mayor, etc., and decide how the public budget is to be invested. They decide which state projects will go through. On the unfavorable side, they 1) have been unable to create a sustainable political project. They cannot mobilize Colombians. The Cuban and Nicaraguan Revolutions succeeded only when they came to urban centers and had a multi-class revolution, both popular, bourgeois, and upper class. 2) Their actions have created resentment by kidnapping politicians and alienating many Colombians. The human rights situation is horrendous, and the guerrillas exploit it in their own favor. The state is seen as the one violating rights, but this is changing. Amnesty International is condemning both state and guerrillas. 3) Para-military groups have emerged (the state has made it legal to organize armed groups to help the army), but these have suffered a transformation as drug dealers and cattle ranchers have become involved. The para-military and self-defense groups are an arm of the armed forces. The Sandinistas talk not to the contras but to the boss of the contras, the U.S. Some para-militaries work with the army; others are right wing or work with drug barons and cattle ranchers, creating a complicated situation. Denunciations have come from the European Union due to their human rights violations. The U. S. has become critical of the Colombian state. Parts of the country held by guerrillas have been cleared out by para-militaries who are ignoring the cost of what they are doing. The Colombian army is subordinate to elites which has caused a clash between the army and civilians, causing a general to resign.

The army has a political project in Chile where the civilian elites allow the military to have their way. The Galán death in 1989 due to his criticism of traditional military corruption and the drug issue was instigated by the cartel.

The guerrillas have international ties due to international political loyalties; the EPL is Maoist, etc., and the ELN originated in Cuba through Colombian students, but the guerrillas are not dependent on outside political movements. When the world map changed due to the disintegration of the Soviet block, Central America and Cuba were affected, but Colombian guerrillas were not forced to negotiate The constituted an armed group of indigenous peoples. Quintin was home to 800,00 and the Paez Indians in the Cauca region brought resistance nd violence. Allied to M19, they constituted 300 in arms, but they rotated, wanting to negotiate with M19 although this was unsuccessful.

In social cleansing, paras (and guerrillas) can kill vagrants, homosexuals, and prostitutes. Colombians say the guerrilla groups have lost their political ideals. They are still a political and social actor, so the government with Professor Valenzuela as mediator talks with these dissident groups of the M19. Their leaders still have a Marxist discourse, but the peasants have no discourse. Their leaders want a reform of the distribution of property. Their leaders will negotiate if the political elites will listen. The peasants are interested in bridges, schools, and hospitals if they sign treaties, being more practical while the guerrillas are ideological. The peasants join the guerrillas to survive. They cannot articulate clearly, but still present conditions for peace. The effort is to democratize the political system. As for their ideology, whether Marxist or Leninist, most advance a socialist project and are willing to settle for an opening of political spaces.

The state encompasses non-elected institutions such as the army, whereas the government is a restricted concept which has a conflict with human rights. It is also democratic. Most of the violence stems from the interaction with guerrillas and the state. Social cleansing raises the issue of who is acceptable. Police commanders and merchants are behind the cleansing. The longer the macro conflict continues, the longer will continue the violence. With the trend toward negative agreements, the more lucid of the guerrilla leaders know that the longer the violence continues, the greater is their deterioration of power. Their activities bring international intervention into the Colombian culture, first brought by drugs but now on a larger scale. They now bring more experience and cooperation to the negotiating table. The drug lords are weaker today, more divided than in the '80's.

After the Constitution was approved, more guerrilla groups can take part in the government. Individual benefits were promulgated for fighters but FARC has rejected these. The absolute numbers of their peasants remains the same, about 22% now and 50% before. The ELN and their relationship to the oil issue remain critical.

The Church is important in negotiations as few institutions have credibility. Before the Church was indifferent to the left and the unrest, but now serves as an intermediary in the peace process which works at the base. Can the peace process be decentralized? The government insists that it be centralized.

The unions belong to different forces. 8-9% of the country is unionized. The labor unions are strong in the oil sector where the owners and workers play a crucial role.

In the judicial branch, the degree of impunity is 97%. Of 100 crimes, about 3 are brought to justice. Local and regional elections will be held in October and the presidential one in May. Candidates for President: Samper/Cerba? There are those against continuity and Samper as he received drug money

Valdivieso - former Attorney General

Minister of Commerce; Mokus - former mayor of Bogotà

Colombia has now broken off relations with Cuba as they support the guerrillas. Female guerrillas and whole families now fight. The economic problem of opening up to outside markets confounds itself with the guerrilla problem

7/11 - Universidad de los Andes; Colombian History and Political Development - Rodrigo Pardo - Colombian Ambassador to France

The issues of drugs and human rights violations have national and now international dimensions, compounded with that of economic development. Colombia's unilateral relationship with the U.S. has led to an international crisis due to the fact that the President is financed by the drug cartels.

Colombia hardly fits into the notion of "new world order" which involves many issues, as this requires a global consensus regarding these issues. Colombia is a recent entry into the arena and she still does not know how to play in it, along with new rules for the game. She has an old reputation of being inward looking, and has undergone less influence from the outside world than neighboring countries. Colombia was often visible to the world during the '80's due to the drug problem and during the '90's as the Ambassador Miles Freychette is often in the papers concerning the many issues between the U.S. and Colombia.

The position of the U.S. government is more influential in Colombian government and politics as the drug problems need international cooperation in all aspects of trafficking. Many deaths on the part of judges, political candidates, assassination of presidential candidates, and law enforcement have been suffered in Colombia to combat drugs, creating a type of narco-terrorism. The effort has been more to stop the assassinations at times than to stop the commerce. Colombia is not as severe a consumer of cocaine and heroine as is the U.S.

Drugs constitute a major threat to their democracy. As the barons were submitted to justice and obtained plea bargaining, by 1993 the Medellín cartel was destroyed, then the Cali cartel which did not use the death squads for social cleansing. Drugs have infiltrated soccer team ownership (money laundering) and financial institutions. Before there was more violence, now more corruption.

The guerrilla movement is stronger, more polarized and has grown in operations although communism is on the decline and the groups do not have their support. Kidnapping has become profitable as well as the "vacuna" or tax on cattle raisers so that they will not be attacked.

From '58-'74 a consensus arose known as the National Front wherein the two political parties agreed to share the power; one party would be elected for four years and then the other. Economic development opened during this period. The population at that time consisted of 50% in the countryside which has grown to 70% in the cities today. This young population contains 75% of people less than 40 years old. The values of consensus were agreed upon at that time, but Samper has now brought more polarization of opinions and intensification of the crisis. U.S./Colombian relations are at their lowest point since the two countries' separation over ownership of the Panama Canal. The perception of Colombia as a narco-democracy and the existence of the cartels does not allow for a normal democratic system. Democracy is threatened more in Colombia through this perception than it is in Mexico and Venezuela. Samper represents scandals, but in fact has presided over the best successes in dealing with the drug trafficking. New laws have been passed to improve the tools for combatting the fortunes of drug lords.

Colombia is closest to the U.S. in terms of geography and dependence in economic development. The U.S. is her biggest market in terms of exports. Colombia often perceives the U.S. as her enemy and most Americans do not even know where she is located. Much polarization and negative attitude has been generated toward the U.S. The perception is that Colombians do not act against drugs except under pressure from the U.S. Colombians believe that the U.S. exercises a different policy towards Mexico and drugs than toward Colombia and drugs. This puts the U.S. Ambassador in an uncomfortable position.

Up until 1986, Colombia was predictable by 88% as to which parties the municipalities would vote for. But the political parties have lost their credibility due to scandals of its Congressional members. There are new rules which tend to benefit third parties. The last President had to be decided in a 2-round selection; the political climate is now favorable to change. They want a president for change in the manner in which politics are conducted. Two candidates are strong in the upcoming election, the Liberal party's former prosecutor who opened up the investigation of the administration, Valdivieso, and Serpa, a liberal, minister of Samper's administration and his defender.

In the second row of candidates, the mayor of Bogatá, Mokus, a member of the National University, was not previously in politics. He is not perceived as a politician and has an amazing capacity to communicate. Bogota needed water rationing, but he did not mandate the system. He invited the people to save water, made them part of the process, and saved more in this way than under a mandatory system. He is a candidate with a believable message.

Security for candidates, especially for local candidates is a problem. Pastrana, a Conservative, is supported by the NFD (Nueva Fuerza Democrática). Sanín (Conservative), Santo - Liberal

Drug money constitutes 2-3 billion dollars to Colombia every year, is 15-20% of Colombian exports, and 3-4% of its GNP. This influx of money is disruptive to the economy, however, as drug lords smuggle in goods which are sold under the price which legitimate merchants would be able to obtain. Consequently, Colombian industrialists would be happy if drug money was stopped. The savings to the government in the legal fight would be high. The money laundering due to the illegal importing of goods such as leather and textiles at lower prices has broken these imports. A decline in the drug money influx would have a negative impact on the guerrillas who protect the coca fields and labs.

The debate in the U.S. Foreign Relations Committee rages over the questions of military aid to Colombia and whether it should continue. Should a military be aided which is violating human rights? The Ambassador under nomination maintained that he did not have enough space for DEA agents in his office and was condemned. The U.S. did grant $30 million in military aid to the Colombian military.

The incomes of drug dealers are concentrated in bars and recreation which do not benefit the 40-60,000 peasants cultivating the coca fields. When the political campaigns start, the police will try to protect the candidates. Escobar (system of young boys who did his killings - cicario)

Historical Content of Constitution -

Concerning the character of the political system which led to the Constitution, the Old Constitution, promulgated in 1819, remained in effect with elected officials until the present. The Civil War of 1961 pitted the Liberals against the Conservatives (Constitution?) which the Liberals won. In 1953, a military coup brought four years of military regime, but this is Colombia's only instance of a military regime, distinguishing it from other Latin American countries.

In the 19th century, the Liberals promoted the attitude of the state against the Church, or an urban attitude. The Conservatives, among whom were many landowners was the party which represented local traditions and regional colonization. Universal elections were held from 1914 until 1936. In 1958 women were allowed to vote. The peasantry participated in the civil wars with much violence at specific periods in these wars. Modernization was tied to industrialization, but these were incorporated into the two parties and never represented a Populist movement. In the '30's this system broke down due to the pressure of the working class, wherein the Liberal Party identified itself with urban lower class issues and the Conservatives with peasant lower class issues. The Liberals were more amenable to change whereas the Conservatives resorted to Fascist ideas in some cases where property is said to have a function.

In 1948 Gaitán, who came closer to having a real Populist following, was killed and civil war started. Conservatives felt compelled to destroy the other parties, and in the country side conservative police intimidated liberals, etc. In 1958, it was decided that each party would rule for four years to stop the civil war; identity with issues for either party was lost as a result. The violence was reduced, however. In Medallín 18 directorates of the Liberal Party were determined to lead the drug and guerrilla influence on violence.

During the 1980's drug crisis, political activities in the countryside were restricted by violence. The ambiance for participation in the political system was low, with a poor voter turnout and a feeling of chaos. The poverty and social distress in the cities led to new institutional arrangements. The Constitution before had had strong control of the state over society. It was decided that respect for human rights should be achieved; the goals of peace, political participation, and human rights were promulgated. The guerrillas accepted to participate in the constitutional convention. The New Constitution has opened the ways for change but this has not yet been achieved. Since '91,there has been time for a reverse movement of disappointment with the Constitution. It has cut into the way the Congress perceives itself, and has aspired to change many things.

Before Constitutional amendments were made only by Congress, but the new assembly now has a very participatory process. Students and professors petitioned the government for the Séptimo Baleto. President Barco was elected on March 11, 1990 on the Seventh Ballot, and on the 27th another ballot was held to convene the Constitutional Assembly. 89% were in favor of this. Minorities could have votes dispersed over the whole country. Of the 70 members elected, 31% went to the Liberals (the congressional liberals held 59%), the M19 guerrillas received 25%, and the Conservatives 15%, the three main forces in the election. Two indigenous representatives were elected, and 2 from the leftist Unión Patriótica. Evangelists made up some guerrilla groups. Two seats were appointed by the President. No party had a majority and the Constitution had to be adopted by a consensus.

Differences in Political Development

U.S.	Colombia
200 yrs. long	100 yrs tradition
short in length	long
separation of power/rights amendments parties	social/economic
judges made	mixed/constitutional

	court/judicial review
difficult to amend	Less rigid;3 ways: formal adoption, constituent assembly and referendum
6) part of ordinary life	formal, but tutela human rights;citizen can ask any judge for protection of rights and question official's doing of job;120,000 cases of tutela
7) level of generality	specific clauses
U.S. allows abortion	Colombia not divisive from Constitutional point of view;can be punished for abortion sacred nature of life
8) euthanasia	can ask to be killed
Flag salute	
religious salute?	Catholic education; salute cannot be mandatory;Catholic Church receiving money from minorities;have to have space to preach? /mandatory mass where president prayed for country;Catholic God; Sacred Heart consecration; Court decided country more than Catholic
Reapportionment	changed electoral groups
desegregation	affirmative action clause & can adopt measures in favor of those economically or physically weak

campaign finance	possibility of est. limits to spending; bigger restrictions
equality	not sensitive enough to equalizing situation

1)The judicial system: Before this was based on the French system where a judge made investigations and sent these to another judge who made the decision. This system proved itself inefficient as nothing was effected against organized crime. There is now an accusatory perspective. Chief of organizations can do the investigation. This belongs to the judicial branch which can issue warrants.

Fiscalía - Crimes since 1991 have a better chance of being solved than before. Crimes were then committed by criminals who were above the law, but these are now in jail. Before this depended on evidence from the U.S. Now there is plea bargaining and sentences are given whereas before there were no sentences and everyone was in jail for at least 8 years.

2) The Constitutional Court and tutela opened access to justice to ordinary citizens who can pay a lawyer.

3) In trials of politicians, before they could claim immunity but now Congressmen can be arrested. Fuero - In Proceso 8000, a corruption scandal of governmental institutions, Congress could absolve a politician, but now some Congressmen are in jail.

Electoral groups: 1) Senators are elected nationally, while representatives are elected by department. The whole country votes for the Senate. A change in politics is afoot:

a) M19 - considers one national list of candidates and constitutes a considerable force in the Senate. It is conservative also. It gained ground in the 1991 election, but was dispersed in the second. The citizens began punishing the guerrillas. Numerically, they number more than 65%.

In the new accountability, with the "pérdida de investidura," any citizen can go to the Conseil d'Etat which decides the conflicts between citizen and state. The state can receive a complaint against the duties of a Congressman. They can now be convicted of crimes. Fourteen have been expelled. Criminals no longer aspire to office as they can now be expelled. There are 2 representatives of indigenous people, and six for evangelists or religious minorities. The Vice President appears on the same ballot as the President, but this is not mandatory. They could be members of the same party, but are not necessarily, a sign of cooperation between the parties. The "doble vuelto" or second round signifies that if no candidate holds a 50% majority, the runoff is held between the two top candidates.

The next candidate must present himself as being different from the traditional, as more than the party candidate. Bipartisan control has diminished. The next president must be someone associated with the new constitution which established a procedure for liberating votes from the political machine. Mokus, the mayor, may campaign against the politicians, against money. More citizens will receive the vote and be able to vote in privacy, meaning figures with no money can compete. The feeling exists that politics has not changed, but that politicians can change it.

In human rights, the Constitution has a hard time changing the problem, but there are concrete cases, issues for everyone. Human rights have become symbolic, are always on the front page, including the demand for tutelas. The primary beneficiaries of the tutela as this point are the "pensionados" or workers receiving pensions. Before they could be discriminated against or fired for arbitrary reasons. Now the disabled and women cannot be transferred without their families. Students can have long hair. The young, unmarried, and pregnant can go to school.

Concerning the indigenous communities, they now have the right to participation in Congress according to the lands where they live. The individual rights for the indigenous community has to be the right to survival of the community as well.

Regarding territorial autonomy of departments, they do not have a judicial system, but do have more autonomy; i.e., popular election of local officials. Before a more centralized system prevailed. There was more centralized money, but less means to spend it well. This was not developed by Congress where political bargaining still counts and not local rights. There is the feeling that expectations have not been fulfilled. There is more participatory democracy with all mechanisms in place, but this has not worked in practice. Laws have been adopted with high thresholds; i.e., Congress has approved a law against kidnapping, but others have failed.

This is a green constitution with respect to the environment. A new Ministry of Environment exists and tutelas concerning the environment; i.e., clean water, better sewage. These needs were not submissive to the demands of the people before.

Indigenous groups have stopped international companies now for degrading their environment and lands. So far, there has been no middle ground on oil; the Indians consider it the blood of the earth which cannot be removed. Writs of enforcement can be written by populous groups to oblige municipalities to enforce laws. Blacks traditionally were not represented in the Constitutional Assembly, were not integrated into the national culture, but the feeling now exists that they should be protected. The Pacific black community is not as assimilated as Atlantic blacks. The industry of forestry exists on the Pacific coast. The raicales, the most active and aggressive group, wanted an island and disputed with Nicaragua for it.

Jaime Jaramillo Uribe - Dept. of Historia y Sociología - Las Veinas Abiertas de America Latina - Alfonso Reyes Casserena/ensayos, ensayista - Antonio Caballero - Jones Scririus - ensayos, Epic of Latin American Literature

7/14/97 - Universidad Tadeo Lozano

La universidad tiene tres areas - ciencias naturales, ciencias económicas, artes y comunicaciones. Hay bastante temas ambientales. Soto descubrió la ciudad pérdida de la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta. Hay parques nacionales importantes como el Chocó.

The conception of time is different in Colombia; it is not a homogenous country in time. There are various stages of mankind happening at the same time. The Constitution cannot bridge 10,000 years of time in three years.

It is a region of great biodiversity. The Pacific coast is a little Amazonia, a tropical rain forest. In the Southern Commission of Third World Countries, the Brunland Commission, Dr.Soto read a position paper at the earth summit entitled For Earth's Sake, Por el Bien de la Tierra, ISBN 958601449-5. Globalization helps developing countries in a sustainable way. What kinds of projects are necessary? Handcrafts do not have a high market value, but in Wichita, KS are needed wing tips for Beechcraft aircraft. The good wood in the Chocó could develop this project with a high aggregate value. This region originally, taught by the Spaniards, built wood ships and can now make sailboats. They have devised blimps, a type of raft which sits in treetops to observe the forest.

The Neotrópico, the first leg of the America Expedition from Buenaventura up the coast to Panamá, could integrate Panamá and Venezuela and reenact Bolívar's idea of integrating Latin America which needs bridges among its countries. Colombia needs to protect areas of high sensitivity. At the University of the Parks, students take courses on environmental science.

Many types of reforestation are "offensive" in the rain forest as the soil cannot be reconstituted. It is important to create a huge diversity. Cudzu has been tried to stop degradation. Since the forests have many genetic resources, the biological congress wants to use the forests in a way which will benefit the locals and the country, but they cannot be guarded for free. They must get organized or the third world will keep burning the forests. The forests should generate income for the service of cleaning the air and atmosphere. Companies with emission rights can trade them with other companies. Biodiversity can be exploited and used; pesticides can e developed that are not toxic. In the climate convention, every company is granted emission rights per capita. This is at 36 units per million?, which would be paid by the companies per hectare of forest.

If Colombia wants to develop heavy industry, rights can be sold to companies with clean industries and these products would be more valuable. There is now appeal in international organizations for the environment as well as international human rights organizations with a part in the World Bank and the UN. The influence here of the U.S., Germany, and France builds pressure for the protection of the Chocó. Companies must acknowledge indigenous rights, and some groups may not be interested in development. From the Heart of the Land 1/2 hrs, Alan Arreda, BBC. This is the film of archeological cities (copy at Gold Museum). The Chocó is 20% black. Its mestizo population is hard to determine. International groups can go directly and negotiate with the Indians, but they cannot deal internationally in issues which affect the whole country.

Maxus Oil Co. dealt first with the nation of the Guaraní and then with the government of Ecuador. They are exploring for oil there, but are working on the advice of the Indians. Maxus pays royalties to the Guaraní tribes which makes their oil more expensive than other oil, but the people of the U.S. and Europe are willing to pay more for it due to its ecological value.

Cota, the lost language, is near Bogotá. 70% of the higher education is private in Colombia. The universities practice strategic marketing and management or interactive marketing. (mileage with American Airlines). There is a tenure process, joint lecturers, full-time professors in graduate schools and masters programs in research. Their fulltime contracts are indefinite; some are year by year. The standards for admission for students compare to SAT'S. Here it is EFAS which scores have been raised from 214 to 400 for admission. Each university is different. Some hold interviews.

Botanic expeditions exist to study resources and generate money with leaders of this independent movement. They are working to organize their structure and use natural resources in international communication. Universities generate business language, are creating the notion of entrepreneurship, of how to create business. Marketing professors are seeking customers. They are in the information and knowledge business, an information reevaluation, an extension of their nervous system. (Polytechnic Institute of Monterrey in Mexico for Study Abroad)

Visit to Sindamanoy (La Tadeo's agricultural and horticultural farm). Leader in agroindustrial technology, mainly for horticulture, and particularly floriculture. Greenhouse tour - They are striving for continuous production year round to grow only what can be sold. Peasants may grow hectares of crops and not be able to sell them. Quality control, soil analysis, and laboratories here, a whole technological package to learn to grow it. Scientists visit peasant farms to see if their farm can grow it.

Cocktail carrots can be grown in 11 weeks. Marketing studies are being done and expanded when the market demands. Mauricio Salaman? They are planting rubber trees to replace coca. Red lettuce is growing in the open, In the greenhouses, computer-controlled retractable roofs regulate the temperature. They are colder inside than outside at night as the air does not circulate. Wet and dry light bulbs can calculate the humidity. The climate outside is similar to that of greenhouses. Carnations and chrysanthemums are mostly grown in a semi-climatized climate. To keep humidity at 22%, the computer will open and close windows and some more than others due to the wind. Thermal or infra-red screens are being used. A spider mite of roses is being developed which eats other spider mites. They are trying to control the white fly. Chemical companies in the states try to dump chemicals in Colombia which they cannot sell in the states.

Night temperatures of between 14 & 16 degrees Celsius with heater are achieved. Temperatures and photosynthetic effect are produced due to lack of plastic. With 1% of light get 1% productivity. The covering is expensive and donated. 3 million m2 worth about $20 here, but can be amortized to 95 cents and 260? due to the bank structure for longtime loans.

Most flowers are shipped from Bogotá to Miami. About 4,000 hectares are devoted to this purpose in Colombia, 100 hectares near

Medallín.

Tomatoes produce a fungus which destroys the white fly, but this is being implemented only to a certain degree as people do not want a fungus. The computer does a summary of conditions every 10 seconds and every 10 minutes of climatic conditions, such as wind, outside and inside temperature, and light. U.S. and European models did not work here. More extensive farming does not have such climate control. U.S. programs did not store data and compare this year's with last year's. This way a series of graphic agricultural knowledge is obtained. There is increased pressure on a growing population to make a living. They can subsist on the slash/burn technique. In the '50's, due to violence, minorities had to abandon the villages and went to the frontier. This demographic explosions was ignorant as to good agricultural techniques. They inherited small plots and had to find new places to live. The poor plant coca and amapola or heroine poppies.

7/15/97 - The Foundation for Coffee Growers celebrated 70 years of foundation on July 7. 3,000 families live directly on coffee farms. Es una actividad nacional y en las municipalidades locales - de pequeños productores - menos de 5 hectares. La Fondación les da un apoyo de asistencia y un mejor desempeña en el mercado internacional. Un programa de investidura es para asegurar un precio minimo básico, altísima calidad, un proceso de selección y también un desarollo social. Se encuentran las mejores prácticas de cultivo y les da una estructura de educación, cuidado medical, etc.; una manera de vivir. Hay un desarollo comunatario y modelos para todo el mundo.

There are 300,000 cafeteros who handpick the beans and select only the ripe ones which heightens the quality over Brazilian coffee which is machine picked. 50,000 ripe berries a day are picked which also helps maintain the trees. Mules are the only viable means of transportation in the mountains. There are two beans inside each berry; the pulp is returned to the soil as fertilizer. This fermentation is important to the aroma. The clean mountain water unique to Colombia enriches the taste and aroma of the coffee when it is used to wash the beans. Coffee farmers are supported by the Federation which visits their farms and shares information, showing them new insights. The Federation maintains roads, provides health care, electrification, schooling, and encouragement.

The coffee is sorted finally by hand when it comes to town and is tasted by experts. Its quality is not affected by storage, and a full year's crop can be held in storage. It is shipped through Pacific and Atlantic ports and by air. Colombia's coffee possesses unique growing conditions and rigorous standards, making it the richest in the world. It is the main engine for growth in Colombia and the main source of foreign exchange. Oil generates more income, but coffee employs the majority of workers. Forty years ago, coffee employed 75% of the workers. It is now 20%, but from the point of view of employment, it is more important. Four million people are living permanently in the coffee areas, covering 1,000 municipalities in three mountain ranges. There are 500 coffee towns which make it more dominant in relative terms.

Railroads were important int he U.S.in the 19th century and coffee was most important here then and provided the initial conditions for employment. Textile factories appeared to satisfy the coffee sector, which continued the growth of the manufacturing sector and finance. Coffee was originally discovered in Ethiopia and brought to Colombia in 1729, but the first major crop appeared in 1850-55. Simon Bolivar had a coffee farm but was not optimistic about its possibilities. There was heightened demand in Colombia in the 1850's due to the frontier and prices rose. There were long cycles of low prices also. There are now forty producing countries in Asia. Colombia is the second supplier to the world market, but the first in supplying washed coffee. It is the world's most valuable soft commodity after wheat, and is drunk mostly in rich countries. Brazil promotes domestic consumption and is the second largest consumer. Tests show that coffee increases the IQ and math conception in children over 12 years old. People associate it with health. The U.S.is Colombia's largest market, but this has declined since the '60's due to the fact that people prefer soft drinks. The trend is toward gourmet coffees and coffee bars. There are now 10,000 coffee bars.

Coffee is grown entirely in developing countries except for Hawaii. Wages are too high there for great production. A private entity manages funds coming from the national coffee fund, and continues to buy from coffee growers. A tax on exports supports the Federation. This is a state model as in some African and

Indian countries. The growers here are free to sell to Federation or private buyers, whereas in other countries, growers can sell only to the state. Brazil produces 25.6% of the worlds' coffee and Colombia 13.8%. Indonesia, Vietnam, and Mexico do not produce high quality coffee but that which is used for instant. The highest consuming countries are the U.S. (24%), Germany (14%), Japan (8%). The highest per capita consumers are Sweden, then Austria, then Finland. Producing countries have a low per capita consumption because this is dependent upon the income per capita. The U.S. could double consumption and then would be like Germany.

Processors are Kraft General Foods, Jacobs Suchard, Nestle, Sarah Lee, Proctor & Gamble which produces Folger's and Taster's Choice. The raders? are Daw Egberts, Neuman, Dutch Col., European Vol? cafe, Cargeille, Edf Man Meuon?

The coffee year starts Oct. 1 and ends Sept. 30. 100,000,000 kl bags or 24 million bags are consumed by consuming countries. 18 million bags shift to producing countries which have attractive prices and have had high stocks. The stocks in consuming countries will increase and in producing countries will decline. The supply needs two years to grow. There has been a big change in prices from Brazil and Colombia from last year, but internationally the elasticity is not high. The market needs two years to respond to changes.

During the overly productive period of the '60's and '70's, prices were supported by the Federation. In '89, this agreement collapsed which gave better prices in the free market. This is unstable, however, and it took the years 89-95 to reach equilibrium again. Prices are high now and stocks are not high. How long prices will remain high is a complex question, though some feel that they will remain high. Due to the size of the Brazilian crop, some exchange rates stimulate prices and some don't. The peso is strong here and profits are down. The World Bank has 400 equations to calculate prices with a 30-50% error. 40% of Starbuck's is Colombian coffee which has a high premium due to its quality. promedio? The Germans are demanding as to coffee quality. They were sent a new brand resistant to coffee rust which they liked.

The coffee broca attacks the cherry. Joint genetic research is now being done with Cornell which could repel insects naturally.

Brazilian coffee is processed differently; they do not wash their coffee and do not use selective picking. They shake the trees and the mature beans fall, which brings internationally a $5-25% less price than Colombian coffee. Brazil does not have as much labor as Colombia and imports Italians. The volume is larger but the quality is lower. There are special growers for Starbuck's at 1.36 the Colombian price, 1.27 for the others.

In 1821, prices for coffee were low and were in cycles until 1940 when they rose. Prices after the war were due to the Nazis in South America. $2 is now the average historical price for green coffee. In 1977, there was a frost in Brazil and prices shot up. Brazil has now recovered. A '86 drought brought the cycle up again. Colombian figures from '80-'97 show an increase in production and price. 13 million bags were produced last year, 10.5

this year and 12.5 are predicted for next year. Exports are up each year with 12 million this year, 16% of the world's coffee. Colombia gets 20% of the revenues. $10 billion is generated and Colombia gets $2 billion.

Germany is the main client, then the U.S., then Colombia, Japan and Sweden. Due to the National Coffee Fund which stabilizes external and internal prices, external prices are not transmitted to the coffee farmers and when prices are lower they can draw on their savings. Coffee incomes are insulated. Booms are short and depressions long, making it hard to know what conditions to predict. The Fund must pay a quota $1.60 to the farmer and $2.000 on the open market, or 80% of the going rate. The Coffee Bank is large in Colombia with a branch in every major coffee town. After WWII high rates were paid to Grace Lines for transport and their merchant fleet so the Grand Colombia was created by the coffee fund. Venezuela is not a shareholder which requires long term investment. They need insurance companies but with short term liquidity.

The prices paid to growers in Central America was $1.20 and the producers got 70%. Central America got 14% less than Colombian growers. They do not have instruments as powerful as Colombia. One hectare = 2.5 acres

Ricardo Avellaneda

geografia - café en Colombia en area montañosa - Sierra Nevada al norte - 6 millones de hectares - No hay cultura cafetera en Costa Pacífica. La Amazonia Colombiana es demasiado baja. El

clima es apta por café a causa de la proximidad y la altura del mar en la costa. En Ecuador la temperatura sube en las montañas. El café se encuentra a 1.000 metros por encima del mar y con una lluvia adecuada. Necesita un clima medio - 1.000m a 1.800 metros sobre el nivel del mar.

La Federacion colombiana no es federal. Se divide en departamentos igual al estado. Hay 32 departamentos y 1.050 municipalidades, y 15 departamentos y 351 municipalidades cafeteros. Raisers are eligible to register if their production is 300 kilos and their plantation is of at least one hectare. They must produce at least 600 American pounds of green coffee. They do not have to be owners; they can lease their land. Of 300,000 possible, 265,000 or 80% are now registered growers. Los cellulados votan para elegir los oficiales municipales. El comité municipal de café se reune et cree los comités del departamento y se reunen a Bogotá también as the National Coffee Congress. The national government, national coffee and National fund committee forma la junta directiva que hace parte de toda la sociedad. Tiene un contrato con el gobierno nacional en como va a manejar el fondo nacional. Hay 8 representativos de Organización y ocho del gobierno, el ministero de Hacienda (Finance), Agricultura, el Desarollo Económico y la Caja agraria. En los usos del fondo de cafe, tienen el derecho al veto del Ministero de la Hacienda. Desde 1940 o 57 anos, nunca ha ejercicide el veto. Hay que obtener un consenso. El comite se reune todos los lunes o 40 veces por ano. Tiene mucha estabilidad en los intereses generales del país y de los cafeteros. In the Executive Coffee Committee, the General Manager gere hace 12 años. Tiene tres gerentes generales en 70 años.

Hay dos gran empresos, uno en Bogotá y el otro en los departamentos. En la area técnica, se efectuan obras de infraestructura (caminos, electricidad, físicas; en el social, tienen fomento de educación.

En el Cenicafe son los científicos de la Federación. Tiene 2000 trabajadores, oficina en Europea y oficinas en los puertos para control de calidad. Para cuantificar los impuestos, no hay monopolio, pero hay participación que da un piso al precio interno y externo. El productor tiene una opción. Every exporter has to match or improve the prices given to growers by the Federation. There are big purchases in warehouses - 14 million bags or one year's crop. Agentes y cooperativos hacen más de 40
5 de las compras. They must pay in cash or check. This national network has worked for more than 50 years. The Federation exports 4 million sacks per year, selling to roasters directly in a big network of collectives. 1) Most infrastructure investments are through the Departmental Committees for schools and roads. 90% of the farmers have electricity, TV's, and household appliances. The schools are open to all. 2) The water supply systems is built by the Federation. A small board builds and small board maintains the systems. 3) These schools have 360,000 students in 6,000 schools. These provide physical infrastructure and teachers. The educational level is high in comparison with the rest of the

country. There is a 25% literacy rate in those 25 and older, the national average being 18%. Colombia is urban now with 70% of the people living in the cities. 4) The Federation improves the health facilities and creates communities for farming and all else. They provide protection of national forestry. From the cost side, the investment is 50% lower than from other levels of government as in thee national and World Bank. Imports arrive in New York at $2.000 a sack FOB-CNF Cartagena versus external cost for exporting, freight and insurance at 9 cents, leaving $1.91. The objective is to maximize the FOB bilk in the containers so that the merchant fleet makes a profit as well. From Perreira to Cartagena,the domestic costs for buying, milling, bagging and transport are $1.82 + $.09 taxes. The domestic price must be minimized to keep the industry alive; i.e., what to do with the $.82?

Size of crop P = P (X+C). P> D-+ Inv. = have to buy 100% of the crop. P< D - -Inv. whose money is it? It is hard to change the production from year to year. Rubber, coco have this arrangement. This year inventories diminished, but coffee can be stored for 20 years. The growers are now back from six years of poor earnings to keep the production at 13 million. How much money is required to do this? Exporters have to render money to the fund. 3.% of the $1.91 per sack goes for families or 6 cents; 1 cent goes to research and 3 cents to advertising.

34 years ago, Madison Avenue decided on Juan Valdez which was phonetically easy to pronounce in industrialized countries. Valdez represents $2 billion in products. Only Quaker Oats is older.

There are no taxes for Colombian coffee in the U.S. although there are for the European Community.

New York = $2.00
warehouse = +.20
CNF +.05
_____
$2.25
green to become roasted shrinks.40
____
2.65

40% of factory level by packing + 60% = Walmart price. This coffee does not compte with Kalua as Colombian coffee does not involve alcohol.

In research, 1 million hectares are growing in Cenicafe which is 60 years old. Problems of pest and diseases have to be solved. The fungus or "rust" caused a drastic reduction in production, but breeding systems produced a resistant plant. A hybrid was developed on an island plus the common variety. The seeds were distributed to growers.

The coffee borer penetrates the berry and the larvae feeds on it. This "broca" causes a loss of up to 60%. By integrated pest management and bio-pesticide, this fungus eats part of the borer. There are natural predators for it in Africa. The borer first appeared in 1988, and a recombinant DNA and in vitro propagation has produced virus-free plants. In vitro germplasm causes the production of haploids and the production of transgenic plants and tomatoes.

In somatic embryogenesis, plants from somatic cells differ from seeds. They can produce embryos from leaves and can be adapted to greenhouse conditions. This embryo rescue and new variety combines with two different parties. With haploids, the pollen grains are spermatazoids (male). They can be cultivated and embryos induced and then plants. This new variety entails years of selection in the field. This shorten the time of selection with double chromosomes.

In protoplast isolation, coffee cells are cultivated like bacteria to make protoplasts which do not have a cell wall. Plants have cell walls. Rice is used to produce DNA, a tool to use DNA technology to produce a hybrid plant. In tomato genetics, a map of the genes is transposed to coffee to establish the molecular biology of coffee. This can replace, see, and find the stages susceptible to borer attach. Coffee DNA is isolated in a genomic library. In RNA, the body produces protein and RNA, the physical processes of the plant.

This biotechnology has produced other crops. Farms now have pitaya (a prickly green fruit). The pineapple is shown at Epcot Center. Juan Valdez represents a good fare for Columbia. A seed center is being created for Latin America.

*** July 16 Education was founded in Colombia in 1621 and has not been a continuous function because the Jesuits were expelled from the Spanish colonies for a time. They operate the largest private institutions int the country with 25,000 students, 2,800 professors full and parttime. There are 35 undergraduate programs. The School of Education opened in the mid-/60's.

In the reorganization of the schools the main ideas were: 1) the process of development of the country or the process of cultural change. 2) To promote basic changes in economic activity and in mentality. 3) Development involves more knowledge and skills and basic change in collective consciousness to which education is the key. It is more efficient, but is between citizens.

There are problems of coverage in the secondary schools. The responsibility here is to train teachers. Comprehensive high schools were created between '68 and ?.

1499-1550 was the era of the Spanish conquest mostly interested in chivalry, religion and trade. The colonies involved adventure, mystery, and fantasy as Spain had just been liberated from the Moors. Colonization was a type of crusade bringing the good news of the Church to which the State was very close. The colonists were really robbing all the gold, and did not intend to stay in the New World. They did not bring their families as did the English colonists. The Church stayed to educate the Indians.

1550-1700 represented the Early Colonial Period with the political projection of the crown and evangelization, the "encomenderos" being responsible for all which happened to the Indians, reducing them from 4,000,000 to 800,000. Private elementary schools were founded for the "criollos" or Spanish sons and daughters born in the colonies.

The monasteries were of Spanish origin and strict moral attitude. They were to educate the Indian elite to be good servants of the clergy. San Bartolomé Javeriana led the movement. There was no education for blacks. It was discussed whether or not they had a soul. The state, Spanish and Creole missions were established around 1600.

1700-1810 - Reform Period - The birth of the bourgeoisie, the Industrial Revolution, illuminism, and the birth of capitalism caused science and philosophy to become very important. Revolutions in the U.S. France, and Latin America brought social and economic change. Two schools to train teachers were founded in each department, one for females and one for males. Only priests could teach religion and morality. The men taught algebra and geometry, the women home economics and needlework. In state schools were 6,000 boys and 2,000 girls. In private schools 9,000 boys and 11,000 girls which came to 15,000 boys and 13,000 girls or 5% of the total population. 1924-34 brought the new German mission. Education had to be compulsory which was contrary to the Constitution which held that it should not be compulsory. It did provide that owners of haciendas must provide schooling if there were more than 20 children on the hacienda. This was against property rights. Teachers should be paid the minimum salary. There should be basic secondary education of four years, two years of professional schooling and two years of high school. Women could not go the last two years. There are now more women in universities than men.

The 1930's to '46 saw the Liberal Hegemony and a recuperation of the spirit of 1850. Lopez Pumarego was president. The marching revolution fostered the social conception to avoid communism. Free enterprise should reign, there should be no church, the state should be little - a capitalism as understood in German Europe. In 1936 the state intervened in this and drew up a model of a social constitution. Schooling must be there to aid the poor. It held a role in the modernization of rural areas as in vaccinations. There was freedom to teach secularization. Women were allowed to study law.

In 946-70 came a rupture with this thinking. The Bogotazo or dictatorship of the National Front brought the leftist assassination of Gaitan. The masses burned Bogota in a "bogotazo" and the military came into power. In 1953 the two parties joined to kick out violence and would share the power (liberals and conservatives) This erased the distinctions between parties. Development became the goal of the nation, predominantly in economic terms. This brought the birth of the concept of under-development which could be overcome if the country adopted the methods of developing countries. This brought technology and planning concepts on the multi-national level, educational planning (UNESCO's world goal). Education became instrumentalized and different among the social classes. The poor attended technical schools, the wealthy professional and leadership schools.

1968 brought constitutional reform under Carlos Lopez Restrepo with social justice as the objective. Since 1970, development plans exist with state intervention. According to the paradigm, first economic growth would diminish disparities, but the gap became greater and greater. They wanted a better distribution of wealth, but it grew worse. Industrialization was seen as a panacea and should be perfected. Borders were closed so that companies could really prosper. Corruption, etc. caused disenchantment with this method. Faith must be had in intervention and planning.

In the next plan there was a difference between economic growth and distribution as a specific goal. The state should not intervene directly. Before it had tried to do all. Protectionism was wrong due to the lack of incentives. Neo-liberalism brought the new social leap now, the "salto social." Free enterprise reigns and the state should intervene only when necessary. Education is for social democratization with access to social and political life, a basis for access to culture.

In 1991 under the New Constitution, with reference to education, the rights of children, adolescents, third age, and special groups are recognized. It encourages the participation of the community. Families have the right to choose the type of education for their children, private or public, etc., with universal autonomy. It is now the obligation of the state to enable the financing of education.

The General Law of Education

1) This new law is value-oriented and aimed at the development of human rights, pluralism, peace, cultural diversity, investment, and creation, as well as toward the protection of the environment and health. The constitution becomes part of the

educational project. The rights of children prevail as students have active participation in their education. Professional education is required of teachers with student evaluations and textbooks. Not all institutions have the ability to do all this. Conferences on the local, departmental, and national level are held to discuss the issues. In this 1994-98 Social Leap under Samper Pizoso, economic plans are subordinated to the creation of a new citizen as the basis of a new society. The coverage in primary education is 85% - lower in rural and low economic strata. Out of 100, only 60 finish the fifth grade, 30 finish the ninth grade. Colombia needs professional teachers and good equipment. 83% of the wealth belongs to those with high income. 13% of high school graduates enter higher education. The goal is to raise the average from 5.5 to 6.9 years of schooling and in improving retention by 50%. There are 300,000 new pre-schoolers and 600,000 new basic... There is a 63% improvement in teachers and provision of texts. The costs are distributed according to the economic ability to pay. Subsidies of $3M are paid to mothers and heads of household. 180,000 new loans have been made to students equaling $82M in loans.

In 1992, Law 30 for Higher Education marked the failure of the law of 1980. It provided universal autonomy and quality inspection and control, 2) a national system of accreditation, improvement of staff and inter-institutional cooperation. With former law there was no need for accreditation. Institutions now offer courses jointly. Through accreditation, reforms are now effected permanently to enhance improvement over time. There is a mechanism for the arrow to increase in quality. Self evaluation, peer review, and net goals are set to improve coverage and quality. Now only 12% are covered; Ecuador has 25% coverage. There is a 3.8% growth per year and the population is growing at 1.8%. There is 2% real improvement over time which should be 16% in 2010. 30% is needed. There is a need for change in financial schemes. There is an abuse of autonomy. Students pay the cost of their education by loans which they must repay later. This would increase their responsibility at the grass roots. The granting of loans should be decentralized and a mechanism of inspection and control put in place. The difference between the cost of schools would be adjusted by loans.

Unemployment compensation of one month is paid by companies. Employees must belong to the cajas set up by the companies where 4% of all salaries is paid to unemployment. To those making less than the minimum wage, the minimum they receive is according to the number of children. What goes out is less than what comes in. The rest get services: schooling, lower-priced medication, recreation, and culture. CAFAM is a government scheme to grant reforms, but does not use government money.

The health law now covers the entire population. Before it only covered workers. The birth rates have dropped from 3.2% to 1.8% in 15 years. There is progress in education and in teacher salaries. They have gone from 4 to 6 to $800 a month or $9,600 a year. Most teachers have two jobs with a preponderance of men in engineering, etc. There are more women in dentistry and 3/4 women in nursing. There are 52% women in graduate studies with women as head of household on the rise. Some schools have been built from the top down. At Javeriana, a master's program in political science began the program. Distance learning is used to professionalize rural teachers. Teachers' organizations and unions are rising. The value added tax or CIVA is distributed by the government to municipalities and they decide its dispensation. The general population would say that education is good but the educator is bad. Medicine is a high paid profession.

7/17/97 - Universidad de la Sabana - schools in Business Administration, Agricultural and Industrial Production

Colombia exports cut flowers. Speakers: one a generalist with special interests in environmental science, biology and infectious diseases and the molecular biology of viruses. Henri Hanssen spent 3 1/2 years at Baylor in Houston. He attended the University of Utah, Salt Lake City in water microbiology, microflora and the environment. In Denmark at the Royal Agricultural University he studied the genetic resources of bio-diversity.

A Global Accord was signed concerning environmental challenges and international responses under Nazli Choucri with political science and international relation at MIT. The main challenges concern neo-liberal economics. There are difficult problems to understand in international relationships and in the dynamic of solving problems. The nation is rich in bio-diversity, but does not have an inventory of natural resources - they do not even know what they have. In floriculture, carnations are important. Colombia is richest in different types of orchids. It produces $430 million in bananas, 80% of the U.S. trade. Floriculture boasts a 90,000 direct employment, 80% being women belonging to the low economic class. They receive a minimum wage of $170 a mo. They often arrive in the flower fields from displaced rural area suffering from violence.. There are 1 million indirect employments particularly in Florida. Miami is the port of entry of 90% of the flowers. 4,800 hectares are dedicated to floriculture mainly in the Sabana, the Valle del Rio Negro in the department of Narino, Pasto, and Cauca.

A seed center for Latin America is being organized with four main components: 1) to train human resources in seed and soil technology, 2) to establish a quality certification network for seeds, 3) create a gene bank for forestry seeds, and 4) create a commercialization system for the products to be produced. What type of international, technical cooperation do Colombians want? There are many opportunities for exchange, but the "style" of cooperation is the question. This would be mainly for forestry and agriculture and the population in rural areas which are moving to the cities and creating problems for the cities and for themselves.

The solution is to provide people with the opportunity to stay in rural areas with a stable situation. Violence, narco-trafficking and illegal cultivators can change an economic system operating on these illegal activities as they provide a higher rate of employment in rural areas. The coops are trying to change coca and poppy growing to sugar cane and corn. It is difficult as high prices are paid for the former. More credibility is needed in products from the point of view of quality. Forestry is necessary to use as goods and to preserve bio-diversity. Mexico is an international center for wheat and corn, yucca and rice. Brazil and Argentina are developing in agriculture and have a patrimony based on genetic resources. Colombia is rich in pharmaceutical products and third in hydrological resources, third in energy, and first in soccer. An international cooperative of Technological problems exists with Denmark, 20 times smaller than Colombia but rich in know-how in forestry and agriculture, especially flowers.

Before there were twenty different social projects, an AID agency for buildings and machinery, but with no results. In the 1960's a health coop existed in Cali, the International Center for Research and Medical Training, in cooperation with Tulane and others to understand the problems of health in Vietnam. 10% of this benefitted Colombia which had viruses related to the ebola virus in Africa.

In 1974,the U. S. decided to give money, but Colombia would also put in money. This 40/60(U.S.) relationship became 50/50 in 1986. Colombia will have to look elsewhere for coops in fighting drugs. Why the switch? The globalization of the world and open economy has brought those interested in doing business with Colombia. Their banks are based on European banks, causing the U.S. to lose economic opportunities with Central and Latin America. Policy and politics are changing. The U. S. is interested in $, and wants to recover its balance of trade with Latin America. The U.S. has sent $70M to Colombia to take care of human rights problems. This is a new position.

New agreements concerning oil are in order with Denmark and the British Empire. The Quasiana well produces 10,000 a day with a potential of 30,000 a day, and a life expectancy of 30 years.

Scandinavia cooperates with Africa in oil, but this has been a fiasco. Colombia wants 20% with Scandinavia and they 80%. These moves are governmental but channeled through private companies. The European Community will also invest $1M. The Arabs are coming with banks and finance. Colombia possesses a $7M loan from the Northern Investment Bank with 15 years to pay at 4.5% interest. The DENIDA? agency will pay 4.5% interest and Colombia owes 0. Oregon and Mississippi will cooperate in forestry projects.

Colombia is the world's second largest flower exporter, holding 11% of the world market. 2/3 of the flowers sold in the U. S. are Colombian and of very high quality. Flowers are the second most important agricultural product, fourth behind coffee, petroleum, and coal. 80,000 direct jobs and 50,000 indirect jobs depend on floriculture.

Issues: Production centers around Bogota, Antioquia and Cauca with 450 farms, 11,000 acres of covered greenhouses (causing visual pollution). There are fifty flower types. The U.S. is the highest importer of Colombian flowers, ahead of the European Community, Canada, and recently Japan. Japan inspected flowers in Colombia and found they did not fit their sanitary conditions, so 3% of the total goes to Japan. Prices are higher there. There is an increasing market in Russia - $20,000 in 1965 (12 tons) increasing to $510,000 now of 141 tons.

There are no true seasons in Colombia which has a excellent year-round climate of between 40-60 degrees Fahrenheit. There is a three-hour access to Miami, good access to Europe, high quality flowers with relation to the price of land and wages, and optimal light intensity due to being on the equator and its perpendicular light source. Floriculture has helped decrease migration from rural to urban areas and is highly labor intensive (60 % women). It boasts higher income levels compared to other activities in the agricultural sector as it is not interested in mechanization. The flowers are picked by hand. Potted flowers and bulbs are mostly supplied by Holland and Denmark. These would be detrimental to Colombia as they weigh more and would cause higher transportation costs. Floriculture provides social benefits for workers in health, nursery care, and two incomes for families. Other agriculture jobs are temporary and transitory. The Colombia Association of Flower Exporters, ASOCOFLORES, groups 85% of all exporters. Challenges include the reduction of the use agrochemicals, water, energy, and waste disposal, and visual pollution (FLORVERDE).

The strategies for combatting these problems are training and education, implementation of an environmental and social welfare code of conduct, the permanent training of field workers, sustainable development practices, and social welfare. A pilot project is monitored to implement specific recommendations in the code of conduct. Germany imports carnations, but cyanide is increasing in the air because they incinerate rubber bands.

Projects are underway in water use, waster water disposal, and organic waste disposal. They are striving for international pest management and a clean production agreement.

In social development, 23 nurseries have been established attended by 1620 children. Donations are made to the Fundacion de Nutricion. In occupational health, projects are underway to guarantee safe working conditions. Cultural acts and recreation are supported. 877,000 benefit from this social welfare. Workers in roses have a tendency to develop a fungus on their skin; tetanus and diarrhea develop due to rural water. Flowers have to be cut with gloves. Tractors make noise, and there is sexual harassment due to the high density of women.

Due to the reevaluation of the peso, the "green" certificate, prices are not as competitive as before. Colombia accused buyers of dumping, of buying at prices below production costs. ASOCOFLORES has created a union in flower growers which sees that each flower exported is paid for. Ecuador and other have followed this example.

Rose plants require years of production. Dr. Armando Gonzalez develops foreign aid. Tulips are not exported as they do not grow in tropical climates. The days are shorter in Colombia and tulips need longer daylight. Germany has the same programs in ecology and aids in resource management. The Secretary of the Environment provides education and environmental management. Due to structural adjustment programs, the World Bank does not give money if entities do not comply with environmental regulations. Stronger rules are now in place.

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In this entrepreneurial, autonomous institute, INALDE, practical managers involve themselves in companies. Ten years of management experience ar required to start here as professors. Funded 12 years ago, it produces general managers, PADE (President's program) PDD, second level management, MBA - requires 32 years old and 4 years experience in company, PID or introduction to management. Students attend 6 months, once each Saturday. The President's program costs $13,000, MBA $22,000 for two years.

7/18/97 - Colombian Ministry for Environmental Affairs

They are promoting private participation in the generation of electricity and resources with a GDP growth of 3.7% in the '80's and '90's. Problems include drug trafficking, guerrilla warfare, and bottlenecks in training resources and insufficient infrastructure. Energy and mining will continue as the main source of GDP growth in the next 4-5 years. Oil will grow with private foreign entrepreneurs in the U.S. and Chile. BP International, Occidental Petroleum, and Exxon are the principal players. Much oil and natural gas potential remains unexplored. Ecopetrol is the state partner for exploration, the subscribing association to main the country's self-sufficiency. Oil is produced at 3.5 billion barrels, or 627 kbd? on the Eastern plains, Colombia's main export commodity. Its markets are the USA and the Caribbean. With a refining capacity of 270 kbd, Colombia supplies all its domestic needs from its "llanos orientales."

The Gas Plan is to supply large cities and plants in the interior. Electricity is 95% urban and 65% rural. Rene de la Pedraja? Petroleum, coal, electricity, and politics move in Colombia. 70% of its energy is hydro and 20% thermal. Private gas-powered plants exist. 50% of the population is at the poverty level according to the UN, 65% of these in rural areas. With the privatization of state enterprises, it is compulsory for the government to establish subsidies as the people cannot even feed themselves. The monopoly of transmission has grown 6% per annum which has to double from now to the year 2020. Howard Richards with the ethics and economics of Chile. Galrath with Samsut Curativa?. The most efficient of means in use to control pollution just now are tolls, buses, and bus lanes.

Colombia's coal reserves are the largest in Latin America on the Guajira Peninsula. Its main market is Western Europe with 75% produced for export.

Gold (El Dorado) exists in Antioquia, Bolivar, and the Choco worth $456 M and 55% of the world's total market. Platinum produces $12M. Colombians want to increase the refinement of emeralds in Colombia and not overseas. Nickel is produced at $190M in Cerramatoso. Limestone is the most abundant construction resource at 20M tons.

The emission of CO2 comes from change in land use. Displaced persons go to agricultural and frontier areas in the Amazon Basin. 1 million have been killed.

Environmental areas need to be strategic areas, with environmental entities responsible such as the national Environmental Council.

In hydrocarbons, terrorist groups blow up pipe lines. Electricity creates big dams, but these are thermal energy pollutants. In high bio-diversity regions,the government finds it difficult to find alternatives. 80% of cities do not have sewage treatment.

El Minsterio del Minerología se trata del consumo de recursos naturales y materias primos. Quieren aumentar la eficacidad energética utilizar energías mas limpias. The ministry has been through a generation of contaminants wherein the tendency of consultants was to give short term solutions. Water, land, and air were developed independently and more integrality was needed. No value was established for the value of the forest, and they need to move closer to sustainable development to prevent imparity and promote well being. NGO'S or non-government organizations have introduced environmental protection in the private sector. Auto-management and regulation need to be promoted.

The Ministry of Agriculture is against reforestation and they are efficient. There are lands with no owner, lush in forests. The government would give a person a segment of land depending on how much he could slash and burn.

Centers of cleaner production have been established and progress made to assist smaller countries (companies) to clean up waste. A $200M fund has been set up to help, but the profit is gong to banks and not to manufacturing. There are no Ph.D.'s in the environmental area as most go to the private sector due to the salaries. Hay un nivel bajo en el mundo público.

People really do not know what to do. The Rio Magdalena has received a loan from the World Bank. There were studies in 1995, but they were asked to shorten the study and now do not know how to proceed. Human capital needs to be strengthened, economic instruments, incentives. Taxes are levied on what companies pollute and the private companies are appalled. Colombia has been confrontational in the Global Environmental Facility or Fondo Ambiental Global whereas Argentina concentrates on getting funds. Sugar interests will participate in these discussions. The industrial complex needs to reach a higher level over the legal issues. Sugar companies must commit to changing the way to produce sugar, and coal to recuperating areas which have been destroyed in the past. Now especially in gold NVOI, there has been a transfer to technology. International cooperation and the assistance of Canada, acceptance from productive areas will held. Canada is to strengthen all the mining and hydrocarbons interests with the option of permits. With more clarity of citizenship participation, concrete projects, and a virtual system of information to solve problems can be created. In leather and agricultural waste, projects can be designed with European governments. In mining, by changing one instrument to measure the amount of mercury, the amount of mercury diminished, and miners have higher profits.

In the distribution of forests, Colombia has 53M hectares of forest. The Pacific Coast is the most diverse in the world in forestry. Projects are: 1) colonization 2) energy consumption and development of infrastructure, 3) the expulsion of illegal crops, 4) forest fires 5) mining, and 6) non-sustainable logging. Indirect causes of these problems are the IPE in New York, policies generated from other sectors and consumption (12M hectares have been taken away from reserves). All activity must consider human inhabitants.

In the Forest Institute, different sectors would be incorporated in the processes. With the Conjunta Nacional y Cajas, an amount would be paid for he emissions of CO2. Most people are not trying to use up the natural resources.

El enigma de la calle - Arios/Borges

7/20/97 - Jardin Botanico Alexander Von Humboldt (Marsella,Risaralda)

Antes la tierra no tenía agua a causa de las cafeteras. Es un area de 600 hectares for which the government bought farms. La gente empezó a llevar plantas que el gobierno les había permitido comprar y las especies se están regenerando.

On the 20th of July all the men are sitting around in their white hats drinking coffee while the "caballos de paso" (walking horses) pass in front.

La Catalina Experiment Station - Silkworm Station - Javier Garcia - Director of La Catalina - With the earthworms, they multiply fungus with rice and water to make them grow. The Cenicafe has 400 on its staff

There are 20,000 worms in a box to produce 1 km of thread. three threads wind together to make one silk thread. There are four cases of worms per flat. These 8,000 worms eat a ton of mulberry leaves in 2 1/2 months. This is an industry which employs much feminine labor.

In the Liceo Ingles - $5,000 paid for hectare of coca, but this is sold for $25,000 on the New York market. Only 10% of those in the industry receive these profits however.

In the Cokosilk factory, the cocoons are bought. The Colombian variety is resistant to disease; the Chinese one is a good producer. They cross these two and give the hybrids to the campesinos, but there are often accidents in the growing which produce second class cocoons. Some cocoons are bigger as two worms get into the same cocoon. Two are heavy and cross important threads. They receive a price of 3.700 pesos per kilometer, less price for second class. 85% of the price is based on the first type. They can stop the metamorphosis, the selcine and fiber by denaturalizing proteins with heat. They dry the cocoon and keep it; it is reduced to 60% of its original weight, but with an increase in price of 2 1/2 times.

They select the material to homologize it, then reheat the hard cocoon with water to hydrate it. Each cocoon has about 1,000 km of thread. They need 3 threads to make the final thread. From the pulp which can be dried, cotton thread can be made. Women make 20% over minimum wage or $225 a month. They work two hours, take 10 minute break and take 1/2 hour for lunch. From this $3M investment, the thread is exported chiefly to Italy and Europe. They export only the raw silk.

7/23/97 Universidad Agropecuaria - This institution gives an education in agropecuario in the coffee region. 125,000 families are related to the coffee business since June 8, 1965. They are in three groups: 1) 8-30 years old - have an entrepreneurial view for the future, and are responsible to their family and community. 2) The mechanics of production is the principal for rural construction. Here, in the management of cattle, poultry, and fruit,they try to actualize their personnel by retraining extension workers in the coffee industry. This is a non-profit private organization, but they receive support of the Coffee Confederation. The group here under the leadership of Harvard is studying the problem. A more improved machine separates the pulp and honey from the seed so it can be moved more economically. It is used in medium and large fincas. The Carnegie Mellon Institute and the University of Hawaii are involved in a joint venture with the Fulbright Commission on the use of robotics in coffee growing. A production of 12M500 sacks or 13.5 million sacks is considered the magic number for a good price for coffee, and this will be achieved for 1997-98. More than 65% of growers have adopted a method of control of prices.

7/24 - CIAT - (lecture on video)

The savannas of Colombia can become the food store for the country. They border the rain forests and can feed South America and absorb populations growth. The Llanos equal the Cerrados in Brazil. Cattle in this area outnumber the people 6-1 and number 90,000,000 head. Pesticide pollution exists in the head rivers, but inadequate transportation in the llanos make the river more reliable. Produce is carried to market in dugout canoes. The rainy season brings receding flood waters and alluvial soils afterwards. 90% of the soil is too acidic to grow food, making cattle raising not generally profitable with 1 cow per 25 acres. Old methods include burning the range to allow the growth of new grass which is more tender, but this reaps a short term advantage. The soil is left vulnerable to wind and soil erosion.

7/25 - Universidad javieriana - Cali

Sr. Orejuella - Afro - Colombian culture

Columbia is one of 3 to 4 hot spots for bio-diversity in the world. It is the wettest part of the world with 11,000 ml of rainfall per year. Jilo, Hawaii and Cherajungi in India at base of Himalayas have the same. It is very rich in endemic species. Chile, Peru, and Ecuador have deserts with registry of rainfall. Columbia is a different situation from other Latin American countries. The Humboldt Current veers toward the Galapagos Islands above Ecuador with prevailing winds from west to east. It has high temperatures, fast-moving current, and much moisture. This cools in the mountains and brings high precipitation. High temperatures and high rainfall bring many watersheds with 8-9,000 plant and animal species.

Pre-Columbian cultures learned to use a tremendous amount of plants, but now poor conservation techniques cause hillsides with low mineral nutrients to wash down rives and away.

There is move afoot which U.S. now wants to connect the port (Buenaventura) to the Pan-American highway, now that hoof and mouth disease which would spread from Central America to U.S. is under control.

The Humboldt Current brings the desert to Peru and Bolivia. International commerce exists now and the U.S. wants this international trade.

Bio-technology and bio-diversity can be marketed in many ways. In cloud-forested areas, an orchid was found 10 yards from the road which won first prize in Paris. This opened a world market in orchids with high marketability. There are 3,500 species of orchids in Columbia. The Choco contains a vast supply of raw materials with much cheap labor. Technology has found 100 species of trees which can be used for pulp where before there existed 2 species. Native tropical hardwoods exist, but imported paper is cheaper and would save trees. The tribes along the watersheds now have the right to occupy and develop them due to the new Environmental Law. The lands now have to be used with conservation in mind. Their hope lies in the organization of the local communities. The blacks realized that they cannot survive on only one activity. They engage in fishing, construction, and often heads of family must leave and work elsewhere, etc.

The region holds Malaya Bay where humpback whales breed. The population of 3,000 derives its business from tourism. They want a sanctuary for the whales and a participatory planning process. Their documents have programs in educations and a marine sanctuary.

For the coral reefs and mangrove swamps, sustainability is compared to a credit card, debit card with which you can withdraw from your account until there is nothing left in the account. You cannot take more out than there is. Malaya Bay is considered as an alternative site for Buenaventura which now carries 75% of Columbia' Pacific port traffic. Malaya Bay has deep water, mangrove swamps, tropical rain forests and whales. Ecopetrol wanted the port, depot and deposit of hydrocarbons near the naval base of Malaya Bay. Ecopetrol brings in more money than coffee. They had to educate people that they can contain accidents, etc., but the battle was won by the local communities.

The Patía River traverses a dry valley, drops to the Pacific lowlands & ends in a high delta near the Santianga National Park which contains the most spectacular mangroves in Colombia. There is a good population of blacks and mestizo entrepreneurs, about 20,000 when the park was established. The extracted lumber and the people living there depended on this hardwood exploitation. In Narino and Cauca departments the lumber production is decreasing and they are trying to survive in an unsustainable manner. Th river provides natural transportation with a channel that gave access to a vast forest. A connection of about 1,000 meters was needed between two small streams. A peasant got the river to flow, but it far exceeded his expectations. This formed the Naranjo Channel.

The mangrove swamps there require strict conditions with salt and fresh water and this was totally disrupted by the Channel. Many lessons have been learned from this small scale involvement which totally disrupted the region's ecology.

Due to the commerce between Tamaco and Buenaventura, an internal channel,the Aguapista, was wanted by the World Bank and the Inter-American Bank, which proved that a funding agency could be found guilty of improper conservation practices. Governments do not necessarily represent the best interests of people. The African-American people as well as the Ecuadorian Indian Awas, about 2,000, developed a project which stressed land ownership and appropriate production. The Ecuadorian Awas taught those in Colombia to get local, regional, and national representatives which created a binational, biosphere reserve. The talks took two years wherein the Indians got exasperated and wanted to meet in distant Peloaqui. Those organizations interested came, and traditional medicine, "resguardas," and land rights were considered important which empowered them. People learned that Indians can teach also and can force governments to guarantee their presence there. They earned the power of autonomy wherein the organizations are the outsiders. This switched the relationship of power and strengthened the council of communities. There were no divisions between Colombian and Ecuadorian Indians. The engineers are indigenous people themselves. The Awas are tutors of the Colombian Awas, have inspired five Indian reserves of 100,000 hectares, and can direct and pace the direction of development. This strengthens their culture, language, and medical practices. This most important area of 1 million hectares, endemic bird species, and 450 orchid species is managed by the Indians.

--Universidad Javeriana - John Paul names rector. The Cali branch was founded in 1970. Until 1983, the university had a base in several placed, but has been in the south since 1983 due to the lack of higher education centers. With many agricultural and industrial interests, the area remains an important development area in the country. There is a big demand for civil engineers for the Administración de Empresas.

7/26 - Sugar cane growing has no seasons and the plants are planted every day; hence fields are present at all stages of growth. Sugar left to grow 18 months is made into brown sugar or panela in the Cauca Valley. Colombia is the sixth exporter of sugar cane in the world behind India and Brazil which are first and second. 110 tons per acre can be produced in Colombia as opposed to 60T in Cuba or Hawaii or India which causes the Cauca Valley to be very productive, very expensive land. Panela mixed with the outer shell of the pineapple releases a protein which helps to dissolve kidney stones and reduces high cholesterol.

Sugar cane can be cut and grown 12 times on the same soil and then new soil and fertilizer must be brought in. New plants for sugar cane refining may be built in Palmeira. Sugar cane predominates in 42 municipalities with parks for recreation in every city. Sugar cane contributes 60% of the expense and the government 40%. Cenicaña is the research center for sugar cane as Cenicafé is for coffee. The terrain contains canals and irrigation. By the year 2005, 50% of the cars in Colombia will use gasahol. Sugar cane exports are to Japan, China, and Europe, as well as U.S. Gahales are vineyards which produce Colombian wine.

2/29 "Caribbean Culture and the History of Cartagena - Adolfo Meisel, Manager of the Banco de la República en Cartegena

Colombia is a country of mixed races, the Caribbean coast comprising 20% of the population, about 8 million people - a larger coastal region than from other Latin American countries. It contains a larger mixture of races than other regions. From the colonial census of 1778 25.4% were white, 19.8% Indian, 47% Mixed, and 7.8% slave. Cartagena is 11% white, 62% mestizo or mulato today. Humboldt was surprised by the number of sandos or black and Indian mix upon his arrival. There are mostly black women in Cartagena. In rural areas blacks mixed with Indians and in urban areas, blacks mixed with whites.

Within Colombia lie several very different regions, the Andean, the Caribbean, and the savannahs. In 1840, the Caribbean coast declared its independence from Colombia as it did not feel as if it had been treated fairly. The tension between the Caribbean and the Andean cultures is apparent in the literature of García Márquez. The GNP of this region is 30% below the rest of the country, having an income per capita similar to that of Uruguay. The region has been left out of the coffee culture and exporting, although Cartagena and Barranquilla produce 30% of Colombia's industrial production. They are the fifth and fourth cities of Colombia respectively, and constitute a tourism and petro-chemical complex. Sucre produces 45% of the national GNP and Guajira 54% due to its coal.

Concerning the loss of Panama, Sir Frances Drake and Henry Morgan were attacking pirates around Cartagena. The U.S. helped Panama gain its independence in order to be able to construct the canal. This region could have become independent also and a different country, resulting in a better level of development now. This agricultural region holds potential for exports, but it is rural and discriminated against. Medallín and Cali receive subsidized credits. Bogota and Cartagena have similar rates of unemployment. Between 1989 and 1994 came the economic "apertura," but due to their different economies, the GNP of the region has remained the same.

The end of the Cold War and the loss of Marxist influence has brought the loss of anti-American sentiment. The left no longer has intellectual influence, but is organized in the guerilla groups. Social banditry is strong from the cocaine trade and extortion from multi-nationals. There is improved investment in education and infrastructure here.

Chile exports 35% of its products and Colombia 17%. 90% of investment is going to the mining and service sector. Coffee has had a large effect on the Colombian economy, but cotton is grown in the coastal area. There is textile production ("maquillas") and light manufacturing on the coast. Due to exchange rate policies, only American airline companies are allowed and airline tickets are very high to keep out tourism. Pulp is being imported from the U.S. and Canada now while Colombia contains great forests of pulp. Some ecological compensation must be provided for growing forests. Productive types of lumber could be produced. With a high inflation rate of 20% which began during the '70's and '80's, the target is now 18%. Cartagena is the main port on the coast and was the main slave port. (Glyphosate = Gligofosato; Therlouttiron=Terbutiron - phosphorous molecule links two amino acids). Santa Marta was founded in 1537; Cartagena is the second oldest city in Colombia.

8/1/97 - Universidad del Norte - Gustavo Bell Lemus -

Regarding Colombian Caribbean history, this is a natural region of 132,000 k2 or 11% of the national territory. There are three sub-regions: the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, the Guajira and the lowlands. In 1525, the Santa Marta was founded by the Spaniards, and in 1533 Cartagena. The Indians strongly resisted and they and others escaped to the remote areas. Only a few are integrated into the new social order today. Cartagena Bay is connected to the Magdalena River by a canal dug by the Spaniards. The river is the only connection between many towns and the outside world. It is longer than a trip to Spain from one end to the other. There were no strong links between the coast and the interior for three centuries. In the 17th and 18th centuries, Cartagena became an important port, the Vice-royalty of Nueva Granada. Merchants and the slave trade flourished on the Atlantic for the plantations and the rest of the provinces. Many slaves escaped and settled in the Palenques communities. They mixed with the Indians and produced a complex pattern of races, 60% of the population. The Indian War affected the coast. Cartagena underwent three sieges and lost 1/2 of its population. The canal was destroyed and government protectionism brought stagnation. Barranquilla would supersede Cartagena at the end of the century and be the most important port of trade and industrial center in the 20th century. In the 1940's, it was the third largest city in the country until the 1960's.

With regard to economic development, not one product will allow economic growth. The region is agricultural, but it is losing its concentration to commerce and mining. Cattle raising is in a crisis and has problems with criminality. Mining and banana production is growing. International prices are not favorable. Santa Marta has a high level of violence and has undergone stagnation since the 1960's. Buenaventura became consolidated as the main exporting port in the 1930's, and commerce and industrial activity stopped in Barranquilla which has suffered an economic crisis for three decades. Cartagena has seen significant industrial development since the 1980's due to the petro-chemical industry. This constitutes a large investment, but low employment. There is lace of infrastructure to supply domestic needs. The GDP is slightly higher, but by the end of the century, the coast will be in stagnation. The population rate has diminished and shows negative indicators in many basic needs. From 15% of the population in 1938, the area has 21.25% of population today. At the end of the 19th century it had around 10% (85M inhabitants with respect to 40M in Colombia). The Atlantic and Bolivar are the most populated departments, with Guajira having the lowest. A 1.65% population growth exists for the country and 1.78% for the region. The Andean and Bogota regions have 75% of the population today. The coastal population is not a result of immigration but from the inhabitants who have returned there due to the Venezuelan economic crisis. The GNP has continued to decrease from 15.32% to 19.78% to 17.87 in 1994, but the Atlantico and Bolivar regions have decreased dramatically in GNP from 4.7 to 3.47 to 3.57 and 2.92. Only Guajira has shown an increase due to the coal project, going from .65 to 1.38 increase. Otherwise, there is a dramatic decrease in the GNP from 8.26 to 6.21 to 1 in Guajira. The Atlantico and Bolivar have increased from 31% to 54% in unsatisfied basic needs. The 65% level in Sucre is at the same level as for some African countries.

With regard to obstacles, the Caribbean region has not been able to consolidate its economic growth. Apertura and internationalization have brought no reallocation from the Andean departments to the coast in education and infrastructure. In education, the national level of illiteracy is 11%, but 21% and 48% on the coast. Lack of roads and infrastructure cuts communication between regions. Public administration of cities is inefficient and hinders development. There is no clear awareness by political groups as to what to do. There is a state fight against corruption in Cartagena. Decentralization has not been sufficiently assimilated by municipalities and public officials need to be educated. 138 towns pay lower taxes and do not assume a leadership role in the government.

The future depends on the rest of the country. Violence threatens the state. Sucre, Bolivar, and Cordoba are beyond the control of the state. There is a large immigration to towns, with 111,000 people displaced. Drug traffickers took over the land devoted to cattle raising with no increase in employment. Land concentration becomes an obstacle to land democratization. Two basic salaries ($170) per month are needed to supply a family of four. Professors are called to work in public administration, and must get involved to promote health programs and other essential services. The region could manage its problems with more autonomy, with strong feelings of regionalism existing on the cost.

Drug traffickers purchase the best land on the Caribbean coast and arrange peace agreements with guerrilla groups. The state is now investing in the oil sector. The state was once exporting maize and now imports it. Agriculture needs to be subsidized again so that the people can produce.

The '60's produced a turning point for Barranquilla with the opening of the Universidad del Norte in 1965. With 7,000 students and 700 professors, it offers a language institute, courses designed upon request, the Social Security Institute, and the International Student Exchange Program. This stimulates the participation of family dikes and other works to improve navigation on the Magdalena River.

"The Romantic Force of Nature in Jorge Issacs's *María*"

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Studies of *María* tend to focus on its autobiographical aspects[1] or biographical notes on Isaacs;[2] the sociological aspect of the novel,[3] and even its realism.[4] And yet, *María* is a quintessentially Romantic novel of an unfulfilled love, not only because of the heroine's death, but because of the force of nature that keeps the hero from seeing her before she dies. This study will go to the heart of that issue and show how the novel relates to the larger picture of Spanish and Latin American Romanticism and even to the fifteenth-century pastoral novel in Spain.

The force of nature as an active character in the novel becomes important in the final chapters, as Efraín is fighting against an ocean, a river, and a jungle in order to get back to María before she dies. Beginning with chapter 55 and continuing through chapter 60, Efraín struggles against the forces of nature in order to reach María before she dies. A close examination of the active, Romantic role of nature in those chapters is in order.

In chapter 55, Efraín is studying in London when he receives word that María is seriously ill and that he must leave as soon as possible. The message specifies that, "Ella vivirá si usted llega a tiempo."[5] The letter he receives from María confirms the oral message. It reads, "Vente . . . ven pronto, o me moriré sin decirte adiós." (241) The only cure for María is a romantic rather than a medical one: María must see Efraín. Within two hours, he is on his way.

As chapter 56 begins, Efraín has already crossed the sea and is making his way from Panama to Buenaventura, Colombia. The letter from María that Efraín received in Panama tells him that, "La noticia de tu regreso ha bastado a volverme las fuerzas." (243) Weather may also be an active force of nature, as it is here. As the ship approaches the shore, the horizon is menacing: "olas negras, tersas y silenciosas pasaban meciéndonos para perderse de nuevo en la oscuridad; luciérnagas sin número revolteaban sobre el crespón de las selvas de las orillas." (244) The black clouds are still ominous in chapter 57; but there is another natural obstacle: "Las corrientes del río empezaban a luchar contra nuestra embarración. . . . Del lado del mar nos llegaba el retumbo de una tormenta lejana. Un ruido semejante al vuelo rumoroso de un huracán sobre las selvas venía en nuestro alcance. Gruesas gotas de lluvia empezaron a caer después." (250) There still remain five more days of his journey.

Those five days are spent in the jungle, with all of the dangers that it implies. This section of the novel could well be described as a "cliff-hanger," an adventure in which the hero passes from one perilous situation to the next. The author reinforces the explicit dangers described with the foreboding "La navagación iba haciéndose cada vez més penosa." (252) Those dangers include poisonous mosquitos and vicious vipers, which caused terror and produced nightmares, when sleep was possible at all.

When the river permits, the travel continues--right toward a cobra, "gruesa como un brazo formido, como de tres varas de largo, de dorso áspero, color hoja seca . . . cabeza enorme y boca tan grande como la cabeza misma; nariz arremangada y colmillos como uñas de gato." (254) With all of the dangers behind him, Efraín finally arrives home only to find that during his absence, María has died.

There is another aspect to nature, that of its majesty, and a quality that links María to the Latin American Romantic literature in its larger context. Even during the hazardous journey through the jungle, Efraín can see its majesty and beauty. For example, between the hurricane and the attack of the mosquitos, he can admire what he sees before him: "De allí para adelante las selvas de las riberas fueron ganando en majestad y galanura; los grupos de palmeras se hicieron más frecuentes; veíase la pambil de recta columna manchada de púrpura; la milpesos frondosa, brinando en sus raíces el delicioso fruto; la chontadura y la gualte; distinguiéndose entre todas las chonta de flexible tallo e inquieto plumaje, por aquello de coqueto y original que recuerda talles seductores y esquivos." (252) The author not only sees and appreciates nature, but personifies its virginal beauty. (His compatriot José Eustacio Rivera did something similar in his novel La vorágine a generation later.) But in Isaacs' own generation, there is a strong link with the Cuban-Mexican Romantic poet José María Heredía. In 1824, he visited Niagara Falls and stood in awe of its power. The emotion that he captures in his images parallels that of Isaacs in María. He writes in personified manner of "tu sublime terror,"[6] its "torrente prodigioso," an "huracán furioso" and "tu grandeza." (138)

Similarily, the character of María is closely assimilated with nature through all of the references to her and flowers in a manner reminiscent of sixteenth-century Spanish literature; both the poetry, such as Garcilaso de la Vega's "Égloga primera" and the novel, such as José Montemayor's Los siete libros de la Diana. María is often described in floral terms or is shown gathering flowers, surrounding herself with nature.[7]

As in those works, nature reflects the emotions of the characters. Witness, for example, in chapter nine that when Efraín doubts María's love, the whole world seems to commiserate with him: "Al fuente de mi ventana, los rosales y follajes de los árboles del huerto parecían temer las primeras brisas que vendrían a derramar el rocío que brillaba en sus hojas y flores. Todo me pareció triste." (26)

There is one final element that ties María to Spanish Romantic poetry and theatre and that element is the moon, the protypical image of the Romantic period. The moon figures prominently in such poems as José de Espronceda's "Canción del pirata," as well as José Zorilla's play Don Juan Tenorio. Of the abundant references to the moon, only the following is mentioned because it is integrated into the beauty of personified nature of the countryside:

> "La cuidad acababa de dormirse sobre su verde y acojinado lecho; como bandadas de aves enormes que se cernieran buscando sus nidos, divisábanse sobre ella, abrillantados por la luna, los follajes de las palmeras." (266)

A visit to El Paraíso, the hacienda where Isaacs lived, helps bring the novel to life, but a word of caution is in order. The entire area of Isaacs' native Cauca Valley in Colombia has taken posession of its most prominent citizen and of his work, to the extent that Jorge Isaacs *was* Efraín and that the ficticious María was a real person. It does not take much imagination to look across the grounds of the estate, now greeting only the tourists, and visualize the workers and to watch the participation of the landscape both so vividly described in what Donald McGrady calls "the best Romantic novel in the Spanish language."[8]

NOTES

1. For example, the "Estudio preliminar" of Benito Varela Jácome's edition (Barcelona: Bruguesa, 1972), among other studies.
2. As Arturo Laguado's "Jorge Isaacs en su tiempo," *Boletín cultural y bibliográfico* 20, 2 (1983): 107-11.
3. See Gustavo Mejía, "La novela de la decadencia de la latifundista: *María* de Jorge Isaacs," *Teoría y crítica literarias* 2 (1976): 261-78.
4. Recently, Rodolfo A. Borello's "Sociedad y paternalismo en *María*, *Cuadernos hispanoamericanos* 562 (April 1997): 67-79. He sees realism in the novel's *costumbrismo*, as well as allowing later in his study for Romantic elements.
5. Jorge Isaacs *María*, 2nd ed., Roberto F. Giusti, prol., Buenos Aires: Losada, 1966,241. All subsequent references are from this edition and are indicated in the text.
6. From *An Anthology of Spanish American Literature*, E. Herman Hespelt, ed., New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1946, 137.
7. This subject has already been developed by Valerie Masson de Gómez in "Las flores como símbolos eróticos en la obra de Jorge Isaacs," *Thesaurus: Boletín del Instituto Caro y Cuervo* 28 (1973): 117-27.
8. *Jorge Isaacs* (New York: Twayne), 1972, p.5.

PSY130
Psychology and Culture

Dr. Sherry Loch
Paradise Valley Community College

PSYCHOLOGY AND CULTURE
PSY130

Course Title: Psychology and Culture

Course Objectives:

1. Describe the limitations of current knowledge about human behaviorism western psychology and the advantages of adding cross-cultural information to psychology. (I)

2. Define cultures and contrast culture with race and ethnicity. (II)

3. Discuss cultural influences on concepts of self and personality. (III)

4. Identify cultural influences on research methods, including the influential biases researchers and research participants bring to the research process. (IV)

5. Identify the impact of considering culture, race, and ethnicity as extraneous variables. (V)

6. Describe manifestations of cultural differences and similarities in several areas of development, including cognitive, moral, and socioemotional development. (VI)

7. Describe the impact of culture on work and multicultural organizations. (VII)

8. Describe the contributions of basic psychological process to intergroup relations, ethnocentrism and stereotypes. (VIII)

9. Describe categorization, memory, selective attention, and attributional bias and how they affect the development and maintenance of ethnocentric attitudes and stereotypes. (IX)

10. Discuss cultural influences on social behavior with a focus on ingroup-outgroup interactions.

11. Describe cross-cultural research on basic psychological processes, including perception, cognition, and intelligence. (X)

12. Define sex, gender, sex roles, and gender roles. (X)

13. Describe cultural differences in gender and the universality of gender-specific behavior patterns across cultures. (X)

14. Discuss cultural influences on physical and mental health and treatments. (XI)

15. Compare cultural and cross-national differences in health care systems.

16. Compare cultural similarities and differences in human emotion, contrasting the basic human emotions across cultures. (XII)

17. Discuss cultural influences on the process of communication and language. (XIII) (XIV)

18. List and analyze guidelines for interaction with diverse cultures in a pluralistic and multicultural world. (XV)

SYLLABUS

Course Title:	PSY130 Psychology and Culture 3 credits
Instructor:	Dr. Sherry Loch, Ph.D., R.N. Office: J108 Message Phone: 493-2854 (24-hour message service)
Materials:	1. Culture and Psychology, Matsumoto, O., Palo Alto: ITP. 2. Psychology and Culture, Lonnen & Malpass. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

General Information:

In the Maricopa Community College District this course can be transferred to 4-year colleges as a Social-Behavioral Science. [SB] and as Global Awareness [G].

Overview of Course:

All the areas of psychology that have a sufficient amount of cross-cultural research literature are presented and discussed. The topics span areas traditionally covered in social, clinical, developmental, and personality psychology. Also included are materials specifically relevant to communication processes, which are extremely important in cross-cultural psychology. Included are the cultural influences on the research process, which should give students a sense of how culture influences the ways in which we gather information about the world.

Purpose of Course:

The purpose of the course is to evaluate the findings of psychology in cross-cultural and cross-national perspective. Most of the readings in psychology have focused on questions of Western psychology and almost all of the research used to answer psychological questions has used American or Western subjects. The discovery of universal principles can proceed only if psychology includes other cultures in its research and observations.

Class Policies:

1. Read assigned articles and textbook chapters and complete all associated assignment sheets and interviews.
2. Take all required unit examinations in the Testing Center.
3. The examinations are computerized and the testing staff will assist you to take the test. A written copy is available to use simultaneously. Your test score will be given to you immediately after completion.
4. **Word process (type) all written assignments** and present to the instructor for grading.
5. Attend and participate in class activities.
6. Students will participate in the learning process by preparing, summarizing, presenting and discussing issues related to cross-cultural and cross-national psychology.

Withdrawal:

The student who desires to withdraw from the course is responsible for signing withdrawal forms through Admissions and Records in B building.

A grade based on total points completed will be given if the student leaves or discontinues the course without withdrawing properly. Please call or see me (Dr. Loch, 493-2854) if you are having any type of problem that is interfering with your completion of the course. Many times something can be done to help you remain in the course if you let me know that you are encountering a difficulty.

SYLLABUS

Grading Criteria:

The grade earned for the semester will be based on the total points earned on each assignment and added for the semester total. To earn a given grade you will need the following percentage of points:

Grading Scale:

A	90 - 100%
B	80 - 89%
C	70 - 79%
D	60 - 69%
F	0 - 59%

Tracking Grades:

You can access your grades on computer in K108 by INFORM, a program that allows students to access information with their Social Security number. The instructor will post the grade on INFORM after the grading is complete. Please see the instructor immediately if you see discrepancies.

The K108 Lab Assistant can help you learn the simple steps necessary to use INFORM. Also, read the directions in the syllabus.

CRITERIA FOR GRADING PAPERS

1. Typed, word-processed, double spaced
2. Three (3) full pages or more to answer question; uses correct punctuation and grammar
3. Contains college-level writing and organization with a clear introduction, supporting paragraphs and concluding paragraph
4. Uses in-text citations by referring to sources in the readings, video, textbook or others; includes a final page listing all references cited in the paper. If you use it, cite it.

Example

You may use any style of formatting that you have used in English 101. If you have not learned a particular style, use the following: (Author, Year = Bochner, 1994) on the reference page you would write the following:

Reference(s)

Botchner, S. (1994) Culture Shock, In W. J. Lonner & R. Malpass (Eds.), Psychology and Culture (pp. 245-251). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Example of an article or chapter in a book:

Tobin, J.J., Wu, D.Y. & Davidson, D.H. (1989) Preschool in Three Cultures: Japan, China, and the United States. (Videocassette). New Haven: Yale University Press.

Example of a reference or a published videocassette:

5. Essay clearly addresses and discusses major issues in the readings (video) and answers the question. Uses appropriate terminology and concepts relevant to the topic are included.

PSY130 Psychology and Culture
Status: Pending
Course Outline:

I. The Cross-Cultural Approach
  1. When Psychology and Culture Meet: An Introduction to Cross-Cultural Psychology
  2. The Nature of Knowledge in Science
  3. Gaining a Global Perspective

Read: Matsumoto: Chapter 1
Lonner & Malpass: Introduction

II. Understanding Culture
  1. A Definition of Culture, Race, Ethnicity
  2. Pancultural Principles versus Culture-Specific Differences: Emics and Etics
  3. An Introduction to Ethnocentrism and Stereotypes
  4. A dimensional Approach to Understanding Cultures

Read: Matsumoto: Chapter 2

III. Culture, Self, and Personality
  1. Culture and Concepts of Self
  2. Culture and Personality Traits
  3. Culture and Indigenous Personalities

Read: Matsumoto: Chapter 3
Lonner & Malpass: Chapter 4 - *The American Indian: A Psychological Overview*, Chapter 5 - *Continuing Encounters with Hong Kong*, Chapter 31 -*Risk and Culture*

IV. Cross-Cultural Research Methods
  1. Issues in the Conduct of Studies Across Cultures
  2. The Nature of Truth in Science and the Importance of Research
  3. The Parameters and Conditions of Research
  4. Special Issues in Cross-Cultural Research

Read: Matsumoto: Chapter 4
Lonner & Malpass: Chapter 15 - *Behavior across Cultures: Results from Observational Studies*, Chapter 18 - *Absolutism, Relativism, and Universalism in the Study of Human Behavior*, Chapter 19 - *A Cross-Cultural Research Contribution to unraveling the Nativist-Empiricist Controversy*

V. Enculturation, Socialization and Development
  1. Cultural Similarities and Differences in Cognitive Development
  2. Other Theories of Cognitive Development
  3. Moral Reasoning
  4. Socioemotional Development

Read: Matsumoto: Chapter 6
Lonner & Malpass: Chapter 10 - *Moral Development and Its Measurement Across Cultures* Chapter 13 - *The Developmental Niche*, Chapter 14 - *Children's Social Networks and Social Supports in Cultural Context*, Chapter 16 - *Patterns of Parenting: The Warmth Dimension in Worldwide Perspective*, Chapter 21 - *Culture and Cognitive Development from a Piagetian Perspective Culture.*

VI. Cultural Influences on Organizations and the World of Work
  1. Cultural similarities and Differences in the Meaning of Work
  2. Organizations and Culture
  3. Cultural Differences in Work Related Values
    a. Motivation and Productivity
    b. Leadership and management Styles
  4. Intercultural Conflicts in Business and Work

Read: Matsumoto: Chapter 6
Lonner & Malpass: Chapter 6 - *First Experiences in Thailand*, Chapter 7 - *Property*, Chapter 30 - *Acculturative Stress*, Chapter 34 - *Preparing to Live and Work Elsewhere*, Chapter 35 - *Culture Shock*, Chapter 36 - *Re-entry Shock: Coming "Home" Again*

VII. Culture and Intergroup Relations
  1. Cultural and Psychological Influences on Ethnocentrism and Stereotypes
  2. Person Perception and Impression Formation
  3. The Contribution of Other Basic Psychological Processes
  4. Culture and Ethnocentrism

Read: Matsumoto: Chapter 7
Lonner & Malpass: Chapter 12 - *A Multicultural View of Stereotyping*, Chapter 29 - *Prejudice and Guilt: The Internal Struggle to Overcome Prejudice*

VIII. Culture and Social Behavior
  1. Cultural Differences in Intergroup Behavior
  2. Cultural Differences in our Interpretations of the World Around Us: Cross-Cultural Research on Attributions
  3. Interpersonal Attraction: Love, Intimacy, and Intercultural Marriages
  4. Cultural Differences in Conformity, Compliance, and Obedience to Groups

Read: Lonner & Malpass: Chapter 9 - *Cleanliness and Culture*, Chapter 24 - *Culture and Social Behavior*, Chapter 33 - *The Contact Hypothesis in Intergroup Relations*

IX. Culture and Basic Psychological Processes
  1. Culture and Perception
  2. Culture and Cognition
  3. Intelligence: Definitions and Concepts

Read: Lonner & Malpass: Chapter 8 - *Culture and Altered States of Consciousness*, Chapter 11 - *Cultural Variations in Use of Alcohol and Drugs*, Chapter 20 - *Remembering in Cultural Context*, Chapter 21 - *Culture and Cognitive Development from a Piagetian Perspective*, Chapter 22 - *Learning Styles and Culture*, Chapter 23 - *The Cultural Construction of Intelligence*

X. Culture and Gender
  1. Cultural Similarities and Differences in Gender Roles
  2. The History of Studying Sexy and Gender in Relation to Culture
  3. The Influence of Culture on Gender
  4. Cultural Similarities and Differences in Ascribed Gender Roles and Stereotypes
  5. Other Psychological Gender Differences across Cultures
  6. Ethnicity and Gender

Read: Matsumoto: Chapter 10

Lonner & Malpass: Chapter 17 - *The Longest War: Gender and Culture*, Chapter 27 - *Cross-Cultural Views of Women and Men*, Chapter 32 - *Sexual Values in a Moroccan Town*

XI. Culture and Health
   1. Sociocultural Influences and Health Care Delivery
   2. Cultural Differences in the Definition of Health
   3. Sociocultural Influences on Physical Health and Medical Disease Processes
   4. Sociocultural Influences on Psychological Disorders and Abnormal Behaviors
   5. Cultural Differences in Dealing with Illness

Read: Matsumoto: Chapter 11
Lonner & Malpass: Chapter 37 - *Description of WHO's Mental Health Program*, Chapter 38 - *Problems of Rapid Population Growth*, Chapter 39 - *Community Health in Ethiopia*, chapter 40 - *Medical Diagnosis and Treatment across Cultures*, Chapter 41 - *Culture and Depression: Discovering Variations in the Experience of Illness*, Chapter 42 - *A Culture-Centered Approach to Counseling*, Chapter 43 - *Reaching the Underserved: Mental Health Services Systems and Special Populations*

XII. The Diversity of Human Emotion
   1. Emotions from a Mainstream American Perspective
   2. The Concept of Emotions from a Cross-Cultural Perspective
   3. Cultural Similarities and Differences in Emotional Expression
   4. Cultural Similarities and Diversity in Other Aspects of Emotion

Read: Matsumoto Chapter 12
Lonner & Malpass: Chapter 31 - *Risk and Culture*

XIII. Culture and Language
   1. The Relationship Between Culture, Language and Worldview
   2. Culture and the Structure of Language
   3. Traditional Theories of Language
   4. Bilingualism
   5. Language Acquisition

Read: Matsumoto: Chapter 13

XIV. Culture and Communication
   1. What Are Nonverbal Behaviors?
   2. Classifying Nonverbal Behaviors
   3. Cultural Differences in Nonverbal Behaviors
   4. Cultural Similarities and Differences in the Expression and Experience of Communication

Read: Matsumoto: Chapter 14
Lonner & Malpass: Chapter 25 - *World without Words: Messages from Face and Body*

XV. Conclusion
   1. Guidelines to Improve Cross-Cultural Relationships
   2. Challenges and Cultural Diversity
   3. Human Interaction in a pluralistic world: work, school, home

Read: Matsumoto: Chapter 15
Lonner & Malpass: *Psychology and Culture: What Lies Ahead*

Additional Readings (by topic)

Accompanies Text: Lonna & Malpass

Introduction

Achebe, C. (1958). Things Fall Apart. Great Britain: Cox & Wyman <The whole book>
Bond, M.H. (1991). Beyond the Chinese Face. Hong Kong: Oxford <Preface only>

Cross Cultural Perspective

Bond, M.H. (1991). Beyond the Chinese Face. Hong Kong: Oxford <Chapter 1 only>
Denisoff, R.S. & Wahrman, R. (1979). Introduction to Sociology. NY: McMillan <Chapter 4 only>
Segall, M., et al. (1991). Human Behavior in Cross Cultural Perspective. NY: Pergamon <Chapter 1 only>
Smith, F. J. & Crano, W. D. (1977). Cultural dimension reconsidered: Global and regional analyses of the ethnographic atlas. American Anthropologist,79, 364-387.
Triandis, H.C. (1983). One perspective on cross-cultural psychology. Acta Psychological Sinica, 3 306-310 (In Chinese).

Methods

Brislin, R.W., Lonner, W.J., Thorndike, R.M. (1973). Cross-cultural Research Methods. NY: John Wiley & Sons. <Chapter 5 ONLY>
Russell, J.A. (1991). Culture and the categorization of emotions. Psychological Bulletin, 110(3), 426-50.
Sears, R.R. (1961). Transcultural variables and conceptual equivalence. In B. Kaplan (Ed.), Studying Personality Cross-culturally. NY: Harper & Row.

Perception

Segall, M., et al. (1991). Human Behavior in Cross Cultural Perspective. NY: Pergamon <Chapter 5 ONLY>
Serpell, R. (1976). Culture's Influence on Behavior. London: Methuen <Chapter 6 ONLY>

Cognition

Bond, M.H. (1991). Beyond the Chinese Face. Hong Kong: Oxford <Chapter 3 ONLY>
Segall, M., et al. (1991). Human Behavior in Cross Cultural Perspective. NY: Pergamon <Chapter 8 & 9 ONLY>

Parenting

Bond, M.H. (1991). Beyond the Chinese Face. Hong Kong: Oxford <Chapter 2 ONLY>

Acceptance and Rejection

Weisner, T.S. & Gallimore, R. (1977). My Brother's Keeper: Child and Sibling Care taking. Current Anthropology, 18(2), 169-189.

Values and Emotions

Mesquita, B & Frijda, N.H. (in press). Cultural variations in Emotions: A Review. Psychological Bulletin.

Munroe, R.L. & Munroe, R.H. (1975). Cross-cultural human development. CA: Brookes/Cole. <Chapter 7 ONLY>

Schwartz, S.H. (in press). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theoretical advances and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, Vol. 25.

Social Perception

Bond, M.H. (1991). Beyond the Chinese Face. Hong Kong: Oxford <Chapter 4 ONLY>

Hui, C.C.H. (1982). Locus of Control: A review of Cross-cultural research. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 6, 301-323.

Zebrowitz-McArthur, L. (1988). Person perception in cross-cultural perspective. In M. H. Bond (Ed.), The Cross-cultural Challenge to Social Psychology (pp. 245-265)/ Newbury Park: Sage.

Interpersonal Behavior

Bond, M.H. (1991). Beyond the Chinese Face. Hong Kong: Oxford <Chapter 5 & 6 ONLY>

Goodwin, R. (manuscript under review). Cross cultural Personal Relationships: A Critical Review and Theoretical Integration.

Segall, M., et al. (1991). Human Behavior in Cross Cultural Perspective. NY: Pergamon <Chapter 12 ONLY>

Individualism and Collectivism

Bond, M.H. (1991). Beyond the Chinese Face. Hong Kong: Oxford <Chapter 7 ONLY>

Triandis, H.C. (1990). Cross-cultural studies of individualism and collectivism. In J. Berman (ed.), Nebraska Symposium on Motivation, 1989 (pp. 41-133). Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Cross- Cultural Interaction

Bochner, S. (1982). The Social Psychology of Cross-cultural Relations. In S. Bochner (Ed.), Cultures in Contact. NY: Pergamon.

Bond, M.H. (in press). The characteristics of Cross-cultural Interaction. In Smith, P.B. & Bond, M.B. (Eds.), Social Psychology Across Cultures. London: Simon & Schrester.

Globalization

Bond, M.H. (1991). Beyond the Chinese Face. Hong Kong: Oxford <Chapters 8 & 9 ONLY>

Yang, K.S. (1988). Will societal modernization eventually eliminate cross-cultural psychological differences? IN M.H. Bond (ed.), The Cross-Cultural Challenge to Social Psychology (pp. 67-85). Newbury Park: Sage.

Note: Articles are available through interlibrary loan or through ASU Main or West. A large number of the books and articles are on reserve under Loch in the PVC Library.

Psychology:

Bond, M.H. (1985). Language as a carrier of ethnic stereotypes in Hong Kong. Journal of Social Psychology, 125, 53-62.

Bond, M.H. (1991). Chinese Values and Health: A Cross-Cultural Examination. Psychology and Health, 5, 137-152.

Bond, M.H. & Cheng, T.S. (1983). The Spontaneous Self-Concept of College Students in Hong Kong, Japan and the United States. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology. 14, 153-171.

Earley. P.C. (1989). Social Loafing and Collectivism: A Comparison of the United States and the People's Republic of China. Administrative Science Quarterly, 34, 565-581.

Gabrenya, W.K. Jr., Latane, B. and Wang, Y.E. (1983). social Loafing in Cross-Cultural Perspectives: Cross-Cultural Differences Among Chinese in Taiwan. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 14, 368-384.

Gabrenya, W.K. Jr., Wnage, Y.E. & Latane, B. (1985). Social Loafing on an Optimizing Task: Cross-Cultural Differences Among Chinese and Americans. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 16, 223-242.

Cousins, S. (1989). Culture and Self-Perception in Japan and in the United States. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 56, 124-131.

Mizokawa, D.T., Rychman, D.B. (1990). Attributions of Academic Success and Failure: A Comparison of Six Asian-American Ethnic Groups. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 21, 434-451.

Rosenthal, D.A. & Feldman, S.S. (1992). The nature and stability of ethnic identity in Chinese youth: Effects of length of residence in tow cultural contexts. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 23, 214-227.

PSY130
Sample Assignment

Assignment
PSY130

1. Cross-Cultural Differences

There is a large number of Latino's who work in Phoenix. They are all subject to various degrees of stress because they live in a foreign culture and have to interact closely with people of different cultural origins. We would like you to take this opportunity to learn something about cross-cultural differences and face-to-face interviews. Furthermore, many are here as immigrants not sojourners.

First decide what you want to know about this specific case of cross-cultural difference. You may focus on the common stressors experienced by these individuals and their coping strategies. You may also focus on other areas of social behavior such as childrearing practices or privacy regulation. Try to be specific and develop a rationale for your choice. The next step is to develop an interviewing scheme, through which you can gather reliable and accurate information. Describe how your interviewing scheme can avoid all sorts of biases that may occur in an interview. Finally, go out and interview at least 2 respondents who work for a local family organization.

Write a report of no more than 5 pages (type-written and double spaced in English). Based on the comparison of these two groups of families, discuss how culture influences the behavior that you are trying to analyze.

Assignment
PSY130 Psychology and Culture

Cross-Cultural Living

We would like you to learn more about the psychology of living in a foreign culture and cross-culture interaction. There are a number of foreign students studying at MCCCD and ASU. The are living with a local family. Because the foreign student and the local student are from difference cultures, problems sometimes may arise. We would like you to interview in detail 2 local students who live with foreign students or work with them, preferably from different countries (America, Japan, Europe, Korea, etc.). Find out in your interviews (1) the kinds of problems that cause difficulties in their interaction and why they occur; (2) how these problems are related to differences in the cultural background of the interactants; and (3) the ways these problems are dealt with; and (4) the delights of their cross-cultural mix.

Write a report of no more than 5 pages (type-written and double spaced in English) for your interviews.

Assignment

Instructions for the Ethnic-Gender-Socioeconomic Roots Paper
One of the exciting aspects of life in Arizona is that our residents are coming from increasingly diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds. The goal of this assignment is to think about, describe, and analyze aspects of your own personal culture which was formed in your own social or ethnic group.

INSTRUCTIONS

Your paper should have 3 major headings as listed below and should include all the requirements listed below. The paper should be no less than 4 and no more than 8 pages in length.

1. **BACKGROUND**: Describe your own ethnic, racial or cultural background. Your family background may have been Black American, Fillipino, German American, Hispanic, Irish American, Italian American, Japanese American, Norwegian American, etc. Or a key element in your experience may have been a religious tradition — fundamentalist Christian, Jewish, Mormon, Roman Catholic, etc. In two or three pages describe the main elements of your background in relation to:
    - A. What generation in the United States do you represent? Are you and your sisters and brothers the first of your family to be born in this country? Were you foreign-born?
    - B. Where did you or your ancestors migrate from? Within the United States? From outside the United States? Why?
    - C. Does your immediate family or extended family practice ethnic or cultural customs that you or they value or identify with? These may include foods, celebrations, traditions, social behaviors, manners, beliefs. What customs do you prize most? Do you or your relatives speak your ethnic-group language?
    - D. What social conditions or conflicts do you or your kin experience within the present American culture? How about in the past? What migration experiences do you or other members of your family remember?
    - E. What occupations are represented in your family?
    - F. What were the main expectations/rules/norms about behavior for males and females?
2. **GENDER PATTERNS**: As you see it, what have been the main stereotypes regarding males and females that you learned in growing up? What were the main expectations/rules/norms about behavior for males and females?

Select 4 specific domains of life from the set below:

- A. Education
- B. Paid Employment
- C. Dating Patterns
- D. Expectations for Husbands and Wives
- E. Child Care and parenting
- F. Sexuality
- G. Importance of Individual vs. Family
- H. Other (get instructor approval in advance)

For each area that you select, discuss in detail the gender stereotypes and gender-based norms in your social group. To what extent has your own cultural group been experiencing social or historical changes in gender patterns? what have you noticed? What do you think is going on?

3. **SELF-REFLECTION ON PERSONAL IMPACT**: How do you think your own unique background has influenced your personal expectations, beliefs, and life goals as a woman or man? did you experience conflict about sex roles? What are your personal goals for the 4 domains you discussed? Write about 1 page on your self-reflections.

Revised from an exercise developed by Dr. Mikel Garcia,California State University, Fullerton

Assignment
Criteria for Cross-Cultural Readings

Cross - Cultural Perspectives

Directions: Submit three (3) articles following this format from the list that follows:

I. Title of article:

II. Summary of article:

III. Application of Information: Write a short summary paragraph of the value of this articles findings to "real world" situations, (work, travel, communication, health care, education, mental health, peace, etc.)

IV. Definitions: Define key terminology (for example, accultivation, infibulation, peyote, collectivis, etc.)

Class Activity

Curriculum:

Make the "concept" of culture REAL.
Main Point: Develop a personal sense of culture as a significant daily reality. In discussions with trainees about their clinical experiences with geriatric patients, trainees often referred to their parents and/or grandparents as a way of relating personally to an age they have not yet experienced. Capitalize on the age cohorts, importance of family and self, and the trainees' cultural experiences.

Action Steps:

1. Make a matrix similar to the one below.
2. Distribute copies to each student.
3. Ask each student to write in their recollection of past sociocultural trends indicated at the top of the matrix; next, write current trends.

Cultural traits	Clothing	Hair Styles	Language	Clothing	Hair Styles	Language
Generational Cohorts						
Grandparents						
Parents						
Self						

Years: 1992 1980

Period Effect: Students will observe and recollect participation in cultural variation over time and within their own families. The "culture charge over time" exercise is an analog to cross-cultural experience. The student can quickly and in a classroom setting see themselves as culture-bearing humans.

PSY130

Sample Assignment

STUDENT HANDOUT

CROSS-CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY

This module is designed to give you information about other cultures which will help you distinguish some of the universal principles of human behavior. Most of the readings have focused on questions of Western psychology and almost all of the research used to answer psychological questions has used American or Western subjects. The discovery of universal principles can proceed only if psychology includes other cultures in its research and observations.

The module contains material about 1) Childrearing and education; 2) Aging ; and 3) Culture shock and group contact. As you will notice each of these topics were discussed in your text in the chapters on development and social psychology and stress and coping. You may use your textbook to support your ideas and conclusions as you answer the essay questions. You do not need sources other than the readings to answer the questions.

DIRECTIONS: CHOOSE ONE OF THE FOLLOWING TOPICS TO COMPLETE ASSIGNMENT.

EACH TOPIC CONTAINS AN ARTICLE OR A VIDEO FROM WHICH YOU DRAW YOUR ANSWER TO THE QUESTION(S) AT THE BEGINNING OF THE MODULE. USE YOUR TEXTBOOK AS ANOTHER SOURCE OF INFORMATION.

WRITE A SHORT ESSAY ANSWERING THE QUESTIONS. YOU WILL WRITE ONE ESSAY OF 3-5 PAGES (double-spaced) TO COMPLETE THIS MODULE (25 points).

CRITERIA FOR GRADING

1. TYPED, WORD-PROCESSED, DOUBLE SPACED.
(2 PTS)

2. THREE (3) FULL PAGES OR MORE TO ANSWER QUESTION. USES CORRECT PUNCTUATION, & GRAMMAR.
(5 PTS)

3. CONTAINS COLLEGE-LEVEL WRITING & ORGANIZATION, WITH A CLEAR INTRODUCTION, SUPPORTING PARAGRAPHS, AND CONCLUDING PARAGRAPH.
(4 PTS)

4. USES IN-TEXT CITATIONS BY REFERRING TO SOURCES IN THE READINGS, VIDEO, TEXTBOOK OR OTHERS. INCLUDES A FINAL PAGE LISTING ALL REFERENCES CITED IN THE PAPER.
IF YOU USE IT, CITE IT.
(4PTS)

EXAMPLE

YOU MAY USE ANY STYLE OF FORMATTING THAT YOU HAVE USED IN ENGLISH 101. IF YOU HAVE NOT LEARNED A PARTICULAR STYLE USE THE FOLLOWING: (AUTHOR, YEAR= BOCHNER,1994) ON THE REFERENCE PAGE YOU WOULD WRITE THE FOLLOWING:

Reference(s)

Botchner,S. (1994) Culture Shock. In W. J. Lonner & R. Malpass (Eds.), Psychology and Culture (pp.245-251). Needham Heights, MA :Allyn & Bacon.

Example is of an article or chapter in a book.

Tobin, J.J.,Wu ,D.Y. & Davidson, D.H. (1989) Preschool in Three cultures: Japan, China, and the United States. (Videocassette). New Haven: Yale University Press.

Example of a reference to a published videocassette.

5. ESSAY CLEARLY ADDRESSES AND DISCUSSES MAJOR ISSUES IN THE READINGS(VIDEO) AND ANWERS THE QUESTION. USES APPROPRIATE TERMINOLOGY AND CONCEPTS RELEVANT TO THE TOPIC ARE INCLUDED.
(10 PTS)

TOTAL: 25 points

MODULE I
CHILDREARING AND EDUCATION

READ:

Tobin, J.J., wu, D.Y. & Davidson, D.H. (1989) Preschool in Three cultures: Japan, China, and the United States. (videocassette). New Haven: Yale University Press.

QUESTION:

Write a 3-5 page essay on the following:

What skills, attributes, and personality characteristics do Chinese/ Japanese/and American parents most want their children to develop? What is a "good child" in each culture?

GROUP ESSAY

DIRECTIONS: This assignment can be used as a collaborative activity:

Papers must be typed or word processed.

Answer the questions with complete sentences and paragraphs. Think of writing an essay or lengthy "Letter to the editor."

Each question should be responded to with your knowledge and opinions from life experience in your own culture. In addition, you are expected to refer to material from the Lafrancois Text and! or video "Preschool in three cultures."

Write an essay for **ONE** of the following questions:

1. What skills/attributes! personality characteristics do Chinese, Japanese, and American parents most want their children to develop? (In each culture, what is a good child".) How does the preschool shape those characteristics?
2. How do parents and teachers in China, Japan and the United States believe children learn to behave? (rules, punishment, teacher interventions, children's responsibility, etc.) Include an analysis of parenting style and moral development (authoritarian, permissive; internalization etc.) for each culture and the differences in behavior that result in each culture.
3. Chinese and Japanese preschools each stress groupism, but do they mean the same thing by this term? How do they differ in their views of children as members of groups? How do these cultures view achievement and competition?

TO THE TEACHER

THE ATTACHED MODULE IS A SELF-CONTAINED UNIT THAT YOU CAN BE USED IN ANY PSYCHOLOGY SECTION. EACH ASSIGNMENT CAN BE HANDLED IN EITHER A GROUP DISCUSSION FORMAT OR A WRITING ASSIGNMENT.

THE MATERIALS ENCLOSED ARE INTRODUCTORY READINGS ON CROSS-CULTURAL TOPICS WHICH CAN BE USED AT SEVERAL DIFFERENT POINTS IN A PSYCHOLOGY 101 SEMESTER.

MODULE 1: USE IN DEVELOPMENTAL OR PERSONALITY SECTIONS.
MODULE 2: USE IN DEVELOPMENTAL OR RESEARCH METHODS **SECTIONS**.

MODULE 1:

THE VIDEOTAPE : PRESCHOOL IN THREE CULTURES IS AVAILABLE FROM YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, CUSTOMER SERVICE DEPARTMENT, BOX 92A YALE STATION, NEW HAVEN, CT. 06520.

A BOOK BY THE SAME NAME IS AVAILABLE AS WELL. TOGETHER THE COST WAS ABOUT 100$.

THE METHOD OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE TAPE IS OF INTEREST: THE AUTHORS FIRST VIDEOPTAPED A PRESCHOOL IN EACH CULTURE, THEN SHOWED THE TAPES TO STAFF, PARENTS AND CHILD DEVELOPMENT EXPERTS IN EACH CULTURE. OTHER ISSUES CAN BE DISCUSSED USING THIS VIDEOTAPE AS THE STIMULUS, SUCH AS FREEDOM, CONFORMITY, COOPERATION & DISCIPLINE.

THE TAPE IS 58:00 MINUTES.

SUGGESTIONS FOR OTHER DISCUSSION/ESSAY QUESTIONS ARE:

PRESCHOOL IN THREE CULTURES: JAPAN. CHINA. AND THE UNITED STATES

OTHER DISCUSSION ESSAY QUESTIONS:

1. WHAT IS THE VALUE OF CHILDREN IN EACH CULTURE?
2. WHAT ROLE DO PRESCHOOLS PLAY IN SOCIETIES WITH LOW BIRTH RATES?
3. ARE CHILDREN IN CHINA AN ECONOMIC ASSET OR LIABILITY? IN THE U.S.; JAPAN; IN AFRICA? WHAT ARE THE COSTS OF HAVING CHILDREN?
4. DO BOYS AND GIRLS HAVE DIFFERENT "VALUE" IN THE U.S.? IN CHINA? JAPAN? DO PARENTS HAVE DIFFERENT STRATEGIES AND PLANS FOR THEIR SONS THAN FOR THEIR DAUGHTERS?
5. HOW IS WOMEN'S WORK TIED TO THE COST, AVAILABILITY, QUALITY AND STRUCTURE OF CHILDCARE IN EACH COUNTRY?
6. HOW DOES EACH CULTURE BELIEVE CHILDREN LEARN TO BEHAVE? HOW MUCH LATITUDE DO THEY GIVE CHILDREN TO MISBEHAVE? HOW IS MISBEHAVIOR IN CHILDHOOD RELATED TO MISBEHAVIOR IN ADULTHOOD IN THE THREE CULTURES?
7. WHAT IS EACH CULTURES VIEW OF INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES IN CHILDREN'S NEEDS AND ABILITIES?
8. CHINESE AND JAPANESE PRESCHOOLS EACH STRESS GROUPISM, BUT DO THEY MEAN THE SAME THING BY THIS TERM?
9. HOW CAN CULTURES BE COMPARED? WHAT CATEGORIES DO WE USE? WHAT JUDGMENTS CAN WE MAKE, WHILE AVOIDING THE PROBLEM OF ETHNOCENTRISM?
10. WHAT ARE THE DIFFERENCES AMONG THE CULTURES IN SELF-EXPRESSION, CREATIVITY, AND INDIVIDUALITY? HOW DID EACH CULTURE GO ABOUT MAKING A CHILD FIT INTO SOCIETY ON THESE VARIABLES? WHAT USE ARE THESE CHARACTERISTICS IN THE LARGER ADULT WORLD OF EACH CULTURE?

TEACHER GUIDELINE

Suggestions to the Instructor:

The module guideline includes alternate readings and essay/discussion questions that could be assigned depending on teacher preferences.

Personal Experience with Materials:

I have found the video (Module 1) serves to stimulate student interest in Asia and encourages comparisons. One caveat: I found students tended to see other cultures ethnocentrically. I recommend spending some time on this concept to avoid automatic negative reactions to other cultures, particularly around childrearing which is an emotionally charged subject. The readings in Module 3 can be helpful with this reaction if you have time to do more than one module in your class.

Module 2 readings can be helpful at encouraging more abstract thought about aging than students usually do. Again, students have preconceived ideas about aging in other countries, although, on this subject their reactions are biased toward seeing other countries in a more positive light than their own. Typically American students see the elderly as well taken care of in " the old country" and "put away" in a nursing home in the U.S. the facts are actually different so an interesting discussion can be encouraged around these stereotypes. Again, tying these reactions with the material on culture shock and reactions to other cultures can make an integrated lesson plan.

CULTURE SHOCK

READ:

Botchner,S. (1994) Culture Shock. In W. J. Lonner & R. Malpass (Eds.), Psychology and Culture (pp.245-251). Needham Heights, MA :Allyn & Bacon.

QUESTION:

Write a 3-5 page essay on the following:

Discuss the proposition or assumption that contact between different groups (e.g. minority groups, foreign exchange, travel) will promote harmonious relations. What factors are necessary in a contact experience to enhance a positive or harmonious relationship between peoples of different cultures?

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Social Psychology Module

Sample Assignments
Psychology and Culture

Social Psychology

READ:

Excerpt from the Conclusion: pp.335-350 of:
Wade,Peter(1993) Blackness and Race Mixture: The Dynamics of Racial Identity in Colombi. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Write a 3-5 page essay answering the following questions:

Describe the racial mixture in the Choco. What psychological theories of social identity and the construction of race are evident in this excerpt? What does the “construction of race” mean?

The lack of solidarity of the black category in Colombia, or even of the blacks in Medellín, is based fundamentally on the possibility of black assimilation into the nonblack world and nonblack acceptance, both conditional in nature. This undermines the structural conditions for potential solidarity. And in everyday practice, this is manifest in the type of internecine struggles over equality and prestige which I have documented in this chapter. The point is to see behind these struggles, often petty in themselves, the larger structures of Colombia's racial order.

Conclusion

My purpose in this book has been to examine in detail one "black" region and its people in a variety of contexts and in different domains of social practice. In the process, I aimed to provide an approach that can capture the Colombian racial order—and by extension the racial orders characteristic of other Latin American societies with a similar history of slavery. The problem has been to look both at the Chocó as a black region and at its location in Colombia as a mixed nation, at blacks and at miscegenation. It is tempting when concentrating on blacks and racial discrimination to begin to overlook processes of miscegenation. Indeed, the radical black organizations in Colombia consciously label mulattoes as *negros* in an attempt to invent a solidarity that does not really exist. On the other hand, an emphasis simply on miscegenation tends to neglect the real and vital presence of blackness in Colombia. The volume *Discrimination without Violence* by Solaún and Kronus (1973) is a case in point here.

The approach I adopt in examining the Chocó attempts to encompass both these aspects and to see them as interrelated parts of one overall order. The precise nature of their relationship has been historically and is currently structured by material forces of wealth and power. These also constitute themselves in space, giving a spatial dimension to both blackness and miscegenation. My aim has been to demonstrate how the same basic racial order underlies apparently different contexts and practices: Unguía and Medellín, regional politics and music, residential patterns and personal identity, the regional histories of areas as apparently different as the Chocó, Antioquia, and *la Costa*. In each context, black nucleation and community have interwoven with *mestizaje*, understood as perceptions of culture as well as "physical appearance" and "ancestry"—and also often under-

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stood as *blanqueamiento*, the hierarchical version of *mestizaje*. In each context, the way these two sets of processes work themselves out is structured by the local political economy, but there is a recursive relationship in that racial identity forms a relatively autonomous dimension of action which can also structure people's economic opportunities.

By focusing on the Chocó, my aim has been to build up a multidimensional picture of "blackness" in Colombia, considering a variety of contexts. Blackness is not only one ingredient in a set of criteria for assigning social status; nor is it only a reason for discrimination. It is an integral, although heterogeneous, part of Colombian cultural topography. It is constitutive of Colombian nationhood, in the sense that this differentiated whole is based on relational contrasts that include "black," "white," "mestizo," and "indian" as terms. The constant possibility for nonblacks of both including blacks (as citizens, or potential mestizos) and excluding them (as inferior, refractory to progress), or for blacks of including themselves or setting themselves apart—both slippages that are markedly more frictional for "indians"—maintains a dynamic tension among positional images of Colombia which at once suggest the unity and the hierarchical differentiation of the nation. In contexts such as Quibdó, Unguia, or Medellín, these tensions are particularly dynamic, open, and occasionally antagonistic as people in their embodied experience of migration and colonization, of movement across the cultural topography of the country, constitute themselves intersubjectively in a welter of claims and attributions of identities, made, of course, in the context of differentials of power and wealth which may separate "black" from "black" as well as from "mestizo" or "white." These differentials structure such claims and ascriptions, privileging, for example, a relation between "*blanqueamiento*" and upward mobility, or between poor recent migrant status in Medellín and black community there, or between Antioqueño economic dominance in Unguia or Quibdó and the prominence of ethnic difference in those places. And claims and ascriptions structure differentials of power and wealth, helping to reproduce them, although they also have the power to change them. In all this, "blackness" is far from homogeneous, being established relationally and contextually within the shifting framework of the Colombian nation, but neither is it completely heterogeneous, since powerful hierarchies tend to structure these relations and contexts in analogous directions.

It is not my aim here, however, to summarize the principal themes and arguments of the book. Rather, I want to refer to some broader

concerns of relevance not only to Colombia and Latin America but also to issues of "race" in general.

Race and Class

The example of the Chocó illustrates that blacks have a particular place in Latin American racial orders. They are at once included and excluded. Indigenous populations are often seen from the perspective of mainstream society as a specific cultural and legal category, a status that may prejudice as well as privilege them. In contrast, blacks tend to be seen as just so many more citizens, linguistically and culturally less distinctive, historically less segregated from the bosom of colonial and republican society, fulfilling, for example, the role of servant. At the same time, blackness is considered inferior and, in Colombia, black regions seen as primitive and backward. Discrimination may be directed against blacks but not systematically, and the cause and effect of this is the uncertainty of the boundaries of categories such as "black" and "black culture." The ambiguity of this boundary is part of the coexistence of inclusion and exclusion, of *mestizaje* and discrimination.

One aspect of this is the commonly held idea that the position of blacks in Colombia and in Latin America generally should be characterized in terms of "class" rather than "race" (see Wade 1985; Pierson 1942; Harris 1952; Solaún and Kronus 1973). This position admits that most blacks are poor due to historical factors but that nowadays a poor black person is in the same position as a poor person of any color and that racial identity and racial discrimination have virtually no role to play in maintaining the low status of blacks. I hope to have shown that racial identities and discriminations are important issues in Colombia for both blacks and nonblacks and that, whatever the ambiguities, categories such as "black," "black culture," and "*blanqueamiento*" have real meaning and force for some people in a variety of contexts. I have been able to show this partly because both in Unguia and in Medellín racial identity and class position could be differentiated quite easily: although most blacks were poor, most poor people were not black. Therefore the difference between poor blacks and poor nonblacks was easier to assess than in Brazilian contexts reported in the literature, where "race" and "class" tended to overlap quite heavily (e.g., Harris 1952; Degler 1971).

More generally, however, slogans such as "class rather than race" need to be analyzed theoretically. The main difficulty here is that "race" and "class" are seen as two determinants of "status" which

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both occupy theoretically equal status. In my view, this obscures the real differences between race and class, which is that the latter refers to the control of material forces and power, whereas the former is essentially a signifier, built primarily around historically constituted aspects of "physical appearance," which has usually been made to signify, among other things, some difference of wealth and power. In this sense, it is a question of seeing how racial identities and racialized relations orchestrate relations in the class system and thus create their own patterns within it, rather than of balancing race and class as determinants of status. Part of the problem in Latin America is that very often an implicit or explicit comparison is being made with the United States. This used to be characterized as a rigid "caste" society in which "race" was the dominant factor for blacks, although later literature by scholars such as Sowell (1975) or Wilson (1978) argues for the growing importance of "class" factors in determining life chances. The point is, however, that comparisons between Latin America (frequently Brazil) and the United States, while of course valid in principle, can, by opposing the two in a polar fashion, obscure their common basis. Thus there is no radical division between the United States and Latin America—racial meanings have simply been constructed in rather different ways. Of course, racial identities generally speaking are a more potent force in the United States than in Latin America, but simple dichotomies may lose sight of their real role in the latter region.

It is from this point of view, for example, that the well-known phrase "money whitens" needs to be examined. In the Latin American context, this has been taken to show the power of "class" in defining status and, correspondingly, the relative insignificance of race. Racial identity can even be recast, since in experiments some people use a lighter color term for a photo of a person who looks well off and a darker classification for the same person looking poor (see Solaún and Kronus 1973). This, in my experience, is very context specific, since a typically black person is always classified as such, no matter how wealthy he or she is. This kind of reclassification is open to people of already mixed blood and more ambiguous identity. More to the point, the trope really means that rich black or mulatto people are treated *as if* they were white (or nearly white). They generally have access to the things to which white people have access—although this is, in fact, *conditional*. Blacks have difficulty gaining entry to Cartagena's elite clubs (Solaún and Kronus 1973), and in a well-known case, Katherine Dunham, a black North American dancer and evidently not a member of the Brazilian working class, was refused entry to the prestigious Hotel Esplanada in São Paulo in 1950 (Fernandes 1969, 406; see also Wright 1990, 97, for a similar incident in Caracas). However, the trope is not "wrong": it simply needs to be understood in context. The fact that money can "whiten" does not mean that "race" is insignificant in Latin American societies. Rather, it testifies to the possibility of nonblack acceptance of blacks and the possibility of black mobility into the nonblack world. It does indeed testify to the greater determining power of material factors. But in the long run, the same holds for the United States. The acquisition by some blacks of some degree of wealth and power has spelled the gradual demise of the rigid "caste" system. There, too, money "whitens," albeit in a different way.

The Autonomy of Race

The foregoing discussion raises a series of issues about how to grasp theoretically the exact relation between "race" and "class." Attempts to simply reduce one to the other—that is, account directly for changing patterns of racial identities and relations in terms of relations between, say, capital and labor—have generally become outmoded, due primarily to the difficulty of accounting for the complexities of race using purely economic categories (Rex 1977, Parkin 1979, Omi and Winant 1986). More subtle revisionist Marxist accounts attribute "relative autonomy" to ideological and political levels, and hence to racial ideologies. In an example of this kind of approach, class relations "function as race relations [and] race is the modality in which class is 'lived'" (Hall 1980, 340; see also Rex and Mason 1986; Gilroy 1982). As Hall (1980, 314) notes, there is a theoretical convergence between such a position and a Weberian approach as used by John Rex, who sees political factors, particularly coercion of labor, and especially in a colonial situation, as having the power to create different groups in society, which may be more or less open or closed and which may compete for, say, jobs or housing (Rex 1977, 1980, 1986a, Rex and Tomlinson 1979; Rex and Moore 1967).

I retreat from a position that simply gives complete and radical autonomy to racial dynamics (Omi and Winant 1986) because I think this runs the danger of obscuring the real analytical differences between the concepts of race and class. I prefer an approach that starts from the kind of theoretical convergence which Hall mentioned, because I think that the material basis of class gives it in the long run more power to construct and alter racial meanings than vice versa. That the United States and Latin America came, at a broad level, to attach very different meanings to the category "black" was fundamentally due, in my view, to economic, political, and demographic factors.

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However, once certain racial meanings exist in a specific situation—meanings that in any case are not constituted from scratch—they clearly have an autonomous impact, creating a recursive relation between race and material factors. The nature of this relation is partly seen in the fact that "material factors" never appear in some neutral, technical, asocial form but are always socialized to the core, as Marx himself recognized (Ulin 1991; cf. Sahlins 1976). People are social beings by their very nature, so nothing—environment, biology, economic "facts"—can present itself to them in a pre- or asocial form (Haraway 1989). The point remains, however, that the way people organize themselves with respect to subsistence, accumulation of wealth, and the mobilization of power has greater power in the long run to recast racial dynamics than the other way around; and this is because power and wealth can be inherent in the mobilization of people and resources, whereas nothing can inhere in "race" except certain aspects of human phenotypical variation themselves selected through a colonial history. Logically, then, meanings must become attached to, and become apparently inherent in, perceptions of physical difference—perceptions that are not, in practice, presocial. A given set of meanings constituted in practice—and they are generally meanings closely interwoven with concerns of power, wealth, and status—has an autonomous role.

The material presented on the Chocoanos supports this position. In chapter 1, I argued that the overall racial order of Colombia of which the Chocó is a part was formed by the economic, political, and demographic nature of the Spanish colonial enterprise. But purely economic explanations are insufficient to explain the dynamics of specific contexts of social relations or cultural dynamics—for example, racism in Medellín or in Unguía. For instance, I think it is inadequate to explain the attacks on La Iguaná's or Zafra's *bailaderos* purely in terms of competition for jobs and housing. There is a real sense in which the Antioqueños were also defending a cultural space and a moral authority against threat by a perceived alien intrusion and a sense in which they were fighting to retain the right to define "normal" and "proper" behavior. Complaints about the Chocoanos' "invasions" of the Parque Berrio are attempts to defend the racial and cultural purity of the symbolic center of *paisa* identity. In Unguía, too, the Antioqueños were culturally invading the territory and "civilizing" it after their own image. They are defending or re-creating Antioqueño identity not just as an economic resource but as a way of life that is also, in Bourdieu's (1977) phrase, "symbolic capital" in the national hierarchy of color and civilization. Equally, the Chocoanos' establishment of black community does not occur simply because of certain configurations of residential differentiation and economic wherewithal. It is also a process of establishing a moral ground in which blackness and black culture can locally and/or temporarily be right and proper. In this sense, while the occurrence of racism is structured by other factors that combine to put Chocoanos and Antioqueños together in large numbers in low-income invasion settlements, pirate urbanizations, and tenement districts, there is also an autonomous dynamic to racism which is about cultural and moral power, the authority to define proper and improper, good and bad, or normal and abnormal within a certain community or territory.

Equally, *blanqueamiento* is a process structured by economic factors, so that it occurs and is accepted more easily under some circumstances than others. But while there are material interests at play here, there is also a dynamic that involves culture, identity, and values and which cannot be explained away as an epiphenomenon of economic relations. Adaptation is also involved in a series of meanings about the relative value of whiteness and blackness: adopting the culture of the nonblack world means, or can be taken to mean, an admission of the superiority of culture associated with whiteness and of the inferiority of culture associated with blackness. This is not a mere idiom that clothes economic realities but is a discourse in its own right. Of course, the hierarchies inherent in that discourse are not accidental but themselves derive from the political economic realities of the colonial era which located "white" at the top and "black" and "indian" at the bottom. The point is that the cultural hierarchy can act as a relatively autonomous realm that, although structured, and in the long term fashioned, by the regionalized political economy, remains a nonreducible dimension of action and thought.

The Heterogeneity of Race and Racism

Theoretical debates about the autonomy of race have important connections with how "race" is lived and perceived. Seeing race as more than a precipitate of economic determinants means it can be addressed in its own right; seeing it as nevertheless intimately linked to material factors means that it cannot be addressed in isolation.

This balance is important in other ways, too. Emphasis on race as a discourse *sui generis* does not mean that issues about race and racism can be undifferentiated; but neither does it mean that different contexts are unrelated. There are deeply rooted ideas about the nature of blackness and whiteness which underlie many different situations, but racial dynamics and forms of racism are also specific to particular historically given contexts. Eriksen (1991) argues that the study of

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ethnicity should not be only a formal Barthian study of boundary maintenance in which the cultural context of ethnic symbols is seen as of little consequence. Instead, the historically specific context may make a difference to ethnic relations at a variety of levels, systemic and personal. Equally, while racism clearly is a process of oppression, racisms need to be located in their spatial and temporal context. Thus, to account for racial inequality as it affects Chocoanos, one has to make recourse to explanations based on a particular experience of slavery which left them in a peripheral region, the exploitation of labor which uses stereotypes of blacks as a justification, the social closure of an ethnic group which denies "outsiders," and especially blacks, access to certain opportunities, the colonization of a frontier territory which is legitimated in terms of the backwardness of blacks, and conflicts over the symbolic capital of color and prestige which use ideas about the primitiveness and ugliness of blackness. All these explanations have a common thread of ideas about the inferiority of blackness, but they also have different implications for the way racism is experienced and the way racial identities interact in a given situation. In short, there is an important element of heterogeneity in racial dynamics and in racism itself. This implies that to tackle racial inequality and racism, it is necessary but not sufficient to attack a notion of "racism" as an undifferentiated set of ideas about the inferiority of blackness. Racisms are woven into specific sets of unequal social relations, and these must be addressed too.

Thus, for example, combating racial inequality for the Chocoanos might take the form of both attempting to reconstruct people's ideas about blackness and addressing specific sets of economic problems. This would take different forms in different contexts. Within the Chocó, negative images center on blacks as lazy and untrustworthy, while in Medellín the images focus more on blacks as fit only for menial work. The two foci of images are clearly connected, but they are slightly different. Similarly, in the Chocó economic projects would have to be designed specifically to target black communities, since development aimed at "opening up" the Chocó often benefits outsiders. In Medellín, on the other hand, measures aimed at low-income settlements and certain informal economic activities in general would be a possible strategy, since blacks participate in these activities in a relatively equal fashion. In both contexts, improvements in education and training would be necessary.

This is perhaps to say no more than that blacks in the Chocó are largely peasants, while in Medellín they are mostly low-income dwellers and workers, and that policies addressed to racial inequality, were

they to be formulated, would have to take that into account. At a more general level, it implies that while "anti-racism" is a valid perspective, differences in structures of racial inequality and in forms of racism between, say, the United States, Europe, South Africa, and Latin America need to be addressed as well.

The Constructedness of "Race"

Throughout the Chocoano material I have emphasized the difficult and uncertain nature of categories such as "black" and "black culture." I have shown that the ambiguity surrounding these categories does not mean that blackness vanishes as an issue or that racial discrimination disappears, and that the cause and result of this ambiguity, that is, *mestizaje*, is intimately linked with discrimination. At the same time, however, it becomes very obvious that "black" is not a self-evident category but is negotiable and manipulable. This, in a sense, is not surprising, since work on ethnicity has long emphasized the processual nature of ethnic identifications (Barth 1969; Epstein 1978; Wallman 1979). But race, perhaps because its ideologies seem to "discover what other ideologies have to construct," that is, physical difference (Gilroy 1982, 281), is often seen as less negotiable in this way. Clearly physical markers play a role in "fixing" identity (Wade 1985), but it is vital to recognize that these physical markers are themselves historically constructed. Racial ideologies do not "discover" the unmediated fact of physical difference but have constituted certain very specific physical traits as powerful signifiers, as Gilroy himself later recognizes (1987, 39).

The Colombian material can help us reflect on how radical is the social constitution of racial categories in two ways. First, the very "physical differences" that racial ideologies supposedly discover are less than obvious: how "black" does a "black" have to be? Or more generally, what is it physically which acts as a cue for racial identification: "color"? "hair type"? "facial features"? This encourages reflection on how the notion of physical difference is itself socially constituted, that is, on how certain physical differences between Africans, Amerindians, and Europeans in the New World have been worked into "racial" difference. And this makes more problematic the assertion that racial categories are "naturally" more socially durable because they refer to physical difference: durability in this sense is a social effect. Second, Latin American racial categories are frequently opposed to those of other areas such as the United States, in terms of ambiguity versus clarity, and social insignificance versus social sa-

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lience. This contrast in social forms can become transposed into arguments about biological bases of classification which then themselves seem to generate the contrast.

Let me expand on these two points, because beneath both lies a common problem: an unacknowledged aspect of the enduring nature/culture binarism which in its different guises has proved so powerful in Western thought and social science (MacCormack and Strathern 1980; Haraway 1989). In what Haraway identifies as a "productionist logic," nature is a raw material for appropriation by culture, and in the social sciences culture indeed is seen to build "races" from a "natural" basis. This basis is, of course, no longer held to have any determinative impact of its own, and "race" is held to be a purely social construct, but "nature" is not in fact consigned to irrelevance. Its continuing presence lies not simply in the recognition that a racializing discourse is also a naturalizing one but also in the very analytic definition of race itself. Many analysts state or imply that the social construction of race appropriates the "natural fact" of phenotypical variation, as if certain aspects of this (e.g., skin color) were intrinsically more liable to be attributed with meanings than others (e.g., height). Treating phenotypical difference as a self-evident biological category (e.g., Banton 1983; 1986b) fails to highlight what Gilroy (1987, 39) calls the "ideological work" that has to be done on physical difference to turn it into "racial" signifiers in the first place. Using phenotypical variation as a taken-for-granted category reveals the presence of a nature/culture binarism that invokes a culture building meaning onto an elemental nature instead of recognizing the mutually constitutive relationship between them. This tends to reproduce "race" as a naturally obdurate category, when its unyielding qualities are really socially determined. Racial discourse does have a naturalizing tendency, but this is not through the unmediated appropriation of natural facts to social ends; it is an effect of the social constitution of the realm of nature itself. People do not naturally find phenotypical difference a problem that has to be explained; the problem must arise within a certain social context that mediates the very perception of that difference and the ideas that it provokes.

In comparisons between Latin America and, say, the United States, the nature/culture binarism reappears once more, and the shift from culture to nature is repeated in a different way. In Latin America (usually Brazil) "racial" classifications are often said to be made on the basis of "appearance" (even though all "race" is supposed to be about "appearance"); in contrast, in the United States they are said to turn on ideas about "ancestry" (Banton 1983, chap. 2; Degler 1971, 103; Harris 1974, 55–59). I would argue that in most places

"racial" identifications use a socially constituted appearance as a primary, although not an exhaustive nor an exclusive, cue for classification: in the United States this is also the case, although what appearance is taken to signify (e.g., about ancestry and its significance) is of course different from in Latin America. But in the opposition Brazil/appearance versus United States/ancestry I detect a subtle reference to an undeconstructed vision of the nature/culture binarism. "Ancestry" is about descent, reproduction, genetics, an underlying code or essence. It is deeper, more "natural," more ingrained, less easy to shake off, manipulate, mask, or equivocate with. In contrast, "appearance" is more transient, changeable, superficial, supplementary, derivative—the icing, as it were, on the cake of nature. Its superficiality and changeability is often highlighted in the Latin American context by a further maneuver in which "physical" appearance is only one element of the appearance that overall defines status: clothes, for example, are also important (Harris 1974, 59; cf. Banton 1983, 29), whereas in the United States a black is a black whatever he or she wears.

A powerful metaphor is thus set up contrasting essence with surface, inner with outer realities, in which the inner essence is accorded more power than the surface. When "nature" is appropriated by "culture," the inner essence of the former leaves its mark on the latter more strongly than do its superficial manifestations, themselves subject to the cultural manipulations of extrasomatic accouterments. Thus socially "significant" racial classifications are based on ideas about essential "biology," while "insignificant" ones are based on merely superficial "biology." Although everyone "knows" that racial classifications are purely social, underneath this apparent common sense lies a real and important contrast in the way culture is said to appropriate different levels of nature. If, however, we consider "nature," we find that phenotype is as biological as genotype and that both alter in intergenerational recombinations. In a typical deconstruction, it is not the original "natural" genotype/phenotype distinction from which derives the supplementary "cultural" significance/insignificance-of-race distinction but precisely the latter that makes possible the former.

This is not to deny differences between the United States and Latin America regarding the classification and treatment of "blacks." The ambiguities surrounding blackness in Colombia are important, as I have tried to show throughout this book, but the contrasts and the similarities have to be understood, with careful attention to the meanings subtly given to "race" in the process. To move in the Latin American case from the "maximization of ambiguity" (Harris 1970) to the

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insignificance of race glosses over the fact that ambiguity undermines the *politicization* of race in the public arena. Race may then be a "personal" issue, but as feminists have convincingly argued, the personal is political: the racial identifications made in the personal space of everyday life reproduce the larger structures of inequality which are the context, or as Giddens (1984, 27) has it, the "unacknowledged conditions of action," for those identifications. Equally, the politicization of race in the United States should not be simply equated with unambiguous and unproblematic "racial identities." Not only is the politicization of race internally heterogeneous and conflictive (Omi and Winant 1986), but, as feminist and postmodernist critiques have argued, subjectivity itself is also multiply constituted, so that blackness in the United States is by no means a simple category (cf. Toplin 1981).

In sum then, it is all too easy to reify racial categories by reference to "phenotype," just as it is tempting to oppose Latin American ambiguity to the apparently unequivocal nature of racial categories in the United States, Britain, or South Africa. Ultimately, however, they are all constructions. Even in apparently unambiguous contexts, this becomes evident on close examination. Benson (1981) uncovers ambiguity in a British context, and this challenge to easy boundaries and taken-for-granted categories has long existed in ports such as Liverpool, Cardiff, or Bristol, where long-established "black" communities have significant mixed-blood populations. Toplin (1981) also challenges the apparent clarity of the black-white distinction in the United States. And perhaps the clearest case of the ultimate constructedness of racial categories is South Africa, where until recently tribunals could alter a person's "race" from one category to another, and members of the same family could be in different categories (Dudgard 1978, Watson 1970). In this sense, then, Colombia is different in degree not kind.

The Future

For the Chocó and indeed for Colombia as a whole, the question remains of what the future will bring: of whether miscegenation will eventually produce racial indistinction and thus equality (within the confines of the class system) or whether blackness will persist in its subordinate position. As the Pacific coast and its people are increasingly incorporated into national society through colonization of the area and migration of blacks into the interior, the evidence indicates that more miscegenation will occur. But if more competition means more discrimination, this process will be hindered. In Unguía we saw

that competition between Chocoanos and Antioqueños was now quite low, since each group occupied rather different economic niches. Nevertheless, the Antioqueños were an intrusive, monopolistic element, and ethnic antagonism was more marked at an earlier date when the Antioqueños were competing more actively for the control of the area: amelioration followed their victory in this respect. In Medellín, a critical factor is the very small percentage of Chocoanos in the city: they represent the vast majority of blacks there and yet form less than 1 percent of the total population. There is some competition and therefore some antagonism, but this remains low due to the small number of blacks present. When they become a more intrusive element—whatever their real competition on the labor market—they experience rejection, and this is followed generally by amelioration based on either de facto segregation or black adaptation to Antioqueño mores. In the barrios, blacks retreat into more peripheral locations—in La Iguaná they have even managed to establish a small sector that is more or less theirs; or they adapt—they stop the parties, they have less rowdy *velorios;* or they disperse around the city, and again their lifestyles adapt to a form more acceptable to urban Antioqueños. So Chocoanos are largely accommodated, but, as always, on the condition that they adapt culturally at least to some degree and do not constitute a threat. Some higher-status Chocoanos are accepted (although occasionally taken for lower-status people) because they are a tiny group and are accommodated on an individualistic basis. Equally, as we saw in chapter 16, mixed marriages, legal and common law, occur quite widely.

The logical conclusion of this argument is that if the Chocoanos migrated in greater numbers, and especially if they tried to be socially mobile and claim higher status on a large scale, there would be greater ethnic and racial antagonism directed at them from both working-class and bourgeois Antioqueños, a conclusion echoed for Brazil by Harris (in an early essay, 1952), Van den Berghe (1967, 74), Degler (1972, 284), Toplin (1981, 115), Fernandes (1969, 337), and Silva (1985). For the moment, however, this has not come to pass in Medellín, although the incidents of racial antagonism which have appeared are indicative warnings.

The ultimate balance of these two forces of *mestizaje* and discrimination remains speculative precisely because it is structured by the regionally varied development of the country's political economy, and the future of this is far from clear. If opportunities are abundant, then the autonomous dynamic of the racial order will dictate that blacks will tend to assimilate into the nonblack world, and miscegenation will be the major trend. If, however, opportunities are scarce, then

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competition will remain a powerful force, and the majority of blacks will continue to suffer discrimination, perhaps at an even greater level.

Uncertainty in the future, however, does not rule out the possibility of action in the present; the problem is, of what kind? If blacks continue to suffer disadvantage, one option, already partly under way, would be to organize politically and lobby government for specific action directed at "blacks" or at regions and activities where they are present in large numbers. This option leads straight into a philosophical debate about the ethics of positive discrimination or affirmative action (see Lustgarten 1980; Banton 1983, chap. 14). In its simplest terms, the question centers on whether one should aim for "fair shares for groups," which means specifying and drawing attention to group boundaries and, in this case, racial differences and then allocating benefits to certain groups, or their individual members, who have been discriminated against in the past in such a way as to deserve collective compensation for the accrued disadvantage they suffer in the competition for material goods, power, and status. In Colombia, this would imply trying to make the category "black" less ambiguous, more solidary, and politically self-aware, initially to pressure for such action but also to define more clearly who might be its beneficiaries. The alternative would be to aim for "fair shares for individuals," which means guaranteeing equal opportunities and letting competition take care of the rest, such that group boundaries dissolve as individuals compete on the basis of their own skills, with no reference to their ascribed characteristics. In Colombia, this would effectively mean leaving the situation as it is, in the hope that the category "black" would eventually cease to have any real meaning—a state of affairs which some would say already exists. It is clear, of course, that "equal opportunities" is something of a mirage, not to mention a handy political catchphrase, and that the difficulty lies in making sure not only that opportunities are equal—which they obviously are not for the blacks in Colombia—but also that people first take them up equally and then follow them through. It also assumes that certain categories of people will not act so as to exclude certain other categories from opportunities perceived as scarce. On the other hand, the politicization of race might threaten to emphasize boundaries and difference, to increase conflict and even violence: the threat of "racism in reverse." In addition, instead of destabilizing meanings about race, this strategy might reinforce them in attempting to construct a homogeneous "black" interest, implying that blacks are the same: identification is stressed rather than difference.

In the case of the Colombian blacks, the accumulated precipitate of the historical discriminations of which they have been the object

puts them at a material disadvantage in any competition. Whether or not they currently suffer discrimination—and the evidence indicates that they do suffer some—they began the race behind the majority of the field. There is therefore a logical case for directing funds and resources towards blacks as a category—assuming that the notion of collective national responsibility for social equality is admitted. In practice, however, given the ambiguity of this category, a more realistic alternative would be to direct action at the regions (or activities) where they are present in large numbers. To the extent that such material support has to be lobbied for in the national arena, movements formed on a regional basis—which would perforce be mostly black—are a justifiable development. Of course, locating demands at a regional level, while more practical and probably easier to justify publicly, does little to address the devaluation of blackness as such. Indeed, it would contribute to the fragmentation of an already highly ambiguous black category.

Going one step further, then, and onto trickier terrain, one can argue that in order to take proper advantage of material opportunities, black people need a solid sense of their own value and legitimacy as blacks; or, going further still and leaving the domain of material equality, one could argue that the accumulated weight of disdain which bears down on black culture—either ignored, despised, or accepted only as exotic or exciting but also as primitive—can only be shrugged off by the concentrated efforts of blacks to reaffirm its value. This last position would assume the legitimacy of a culturally plural society, something that is officially "recognized and protected" in Article Seven of the 1991 Constitution. Such cultural *reivindicación* (reclaiming) is more inherently problematic, since it envisages an end goal of continuing cultural difference, while claims for material equality anticipate eventual economic indistinction (at least within the confines of the class system).

My own view is that protest for material equality is a more easily justifiable strategy since it invokes ideals of democratic social justice. Such protest would be easiest on a regional and local level, since it would not *need* to make reference to blacks as such and because such protests already have some history in Colombia. But such localized demands could not hope to redefine the meanings surrounding blackness, except perhaps implicitly or by means of the long-term effects of improving the economic position of blacks (an effect that is by no means straightforward, as the debate on the position of blackness in post-Revolutionary Cuba shows; see, for example, Casal 1979; Taylor 1988). Redefinition of blackness so that it can be a "normal state of affairs" in cultural terms is difficult to envisage in Colombia, since in

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a situation in which at least some blacks are escaping the category of black, protest on a collective scale is unlikely to evolve very far without a conscious attempt to organize on the part of a minority of blacks who are prepared to push for a more coherent black identity. In this sense, attempts to create black solidarity directed both at reevaluating blackness and at protesting about racial inequality and lobbying for positive measures can be seen as a legitimate initial and short- to medium-term strategy. There are, of course, real dangers in attempting to construct a new category of "black," in emphasizing identification rather than difference, in perhaps implying that blacks all have the same interests or even that they are all in some sense "the same." The danger is not an automatic one, however. The crucial point is not to ground that identification in specious natural categories but to justify it in terms of a contingent identification of political interests; this can exist alongside a deconstruction of the apparent naturalness of racial categories and a challenge to the standard meanings attached to blackness. In any case, to push black solidarity or positive discrimination too far or too blindly risks engendering antagonism, and although a certain amount of antagonism may be inevitable, and even necessary, in a struggle for racial equality, it cannot be seen as an end in itself. As the Chocoano singer Jairo Varela says in his song "Cicatrices" (Scars), "I do not want this to end in hate."

Epilogue

The research for this book was done in Colombia between 1982 and 1983, and between 1986 and 1987. In the summer of 1992, courtesy of a grant from the British Academy, I completed six weeks' fieldwork, mostly in the Pacific coast region, and found that important changes were taking place that I thought should not go without notice in this book.

I did not go to Unguía, but in Quibdó I met many friends from Unguía who had since moved. In the last decade, the Urabá region has become a virtual battleground between guerrilla forces and the state, with paramilitary groups and drug traffickers adding to the violence.[1] The Antioqueño side of the Gulf is the worst hit, but the violence has spread to the Chocoano side and many people I knew in Unguía are now dead, many of them murdered by guerrilla or paramilitary forces. Some of the big Antioqueño merchant-farmers had been killed, but one of the main effects of the violence on the area has been to accelerate the exodus of Chocoanos that I identified in 1982–83. Specifically, three of the more successful Chocoano families had suffered threats and even, in one case, an assassination attempt. In short, the area is now more completely Antioqueño than before.

Medellín has not changed much. It is just as violent and as trapped in the ups and downs of the drug war. The Chocoano presence is very much as I found it in 1986–87, although the Corporación de Negritudes and the Chocoano Action Committee (see chapter 17) have both collapsed. La Playita in La Iguaná (see chapter 12) has also undergone many changes after a flood swept away most of the settlement in 1988 (see notes to figure 4 in appendix B).

More substantial changes have taken place in the political sphere.

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I argued in chapter 17 that black political organization was weak and incipient, plagued by fragmentation and divisiveness. Problems included the difficulty of knowing who was and who was not "black," the tendency of mulattoes not to identify with blacks, and the tendency of some successful blacks—potential leaders—to engage in one way or another in processes of *blanqueamiento*. None of this has been radically altered, but there are signs of significant changes.

On 5 July 1991, a new constitution was approved in Colombia. This recognized the "pluricultural and multiethnic" character of the Colombian nation and gave certain rights to indigenous minorities. It included a Transitory Article 55 requiring the promulgation of a law, subject to study by a government-created special commission, that "in accordance with their traditional production practices, and in areas to be demarcated by the same law, recognizes collective property rights for black communities which have been occupying *tierras baldías* [public or state lands] in the rural riverine zones of the rivers of the Pacific Basin." The law must also establish "mechanisms for the protection of the cultural identity and rights of these communities, and for the promotion of their economic and social development." The article may be applied to other communities that "present similar conditions." The transitory nature of the article means that Congress must pass the law by 5 July 1993, or the power to draft it defaults to the President himself, who could, of course, let the article lapse if he chose.

The background to the inclusion of this article is very revealing of the nature of black political organization. The scene in the late 1980s included three important elements. First, there already existed a certain level of black politicization. On the one hand there was the type noted in chapter 17: basically urban movements formed by a minority of black intellectuals with barely any funding, inspired by such events on the international scene as the civil rights and black power movements in the United States, black resistance in South Africa, and the independence of other African states.[2] On the other hand were grassroots organizations, mainly in the Chocó, for example, the Integrated Peasant Association of the Atrato, which was formed in 1984 at the instigation of the church's Afro-American Pastoral program. Also formed in 1984 in Quibdó, the Organization of Popular Barrios was an autonomous movement that pushed for better urban services and organized productive small-scale projects. Thus some community organization existed, albeit often impelled by the church.

Second, the Pacific region had become an area of increasing interest for the state. The whole Pacific basin was seen as a focus of immense future geopolitical potential, and the government was eager to exploit

Colombia's position. Hence the presidency's grandiose plan for a "New Pacific Dimension for Colombia" (see chapter 8), based on huge infrastructural developments. Hence also a more recent international forum on "Colombia in the Pacific Era" attended by a plethora of government top brass and foreign ambassadors (Cali, July 1992). This attention has translated practically into more roads, more colonization, and more development of precisely the distorted, inegalitarian, and destructive kind documented in chapter 8. One consequence was that blacks, in search of timber and new mining lands, began to encroach on indian lands. Conflicts had emerged already as the government demarcated indian reserves that often included established black settlements. Now the conflict has worsened. However, indian organizations such as the Chocó's Regional Organization of Waunamas and Emberás, an entity originally created by the church in 1986, attempted to defuse the situation by creating black-indian alliances to fight for land rights and against environmental degradation (even though, of course, blacks themselves, as miners and loggers, did some of the degrading). One such alliance was the Chocó's Peasant Association of the San Juan, formed in 1990 during the Second Meeting for the Unity and Defense of Indian and Black Communities. The point is that indian organization in Colombia is older, is better financed, and has better advisory back-up than do black movements. This unstable marriage of convenience thus gave Pacific coast blacks, more accurately Chocoanos, a further point of leverage.

Third, during the governments of Belisario Betancur (1982–86) and Virgilio Barco (1986–90), state peace plans for demobilizing guerrilla movements had long been at odds with informal, but vicious and efficient, repression of all leftist elements and social movements effected (often surreptitiously) by the armed forces and by paramilitary forces, sometimes financed by drug money. Part of the attempt to create a more open political system was the idea of reforming the country's rigid constitution. Although the intent of this initiative was not the benefit of ethnic minorities, the initiative opened a forum in which they were able to debate. In sum, then, a particular conjuncture came about in which black people, among whom there were already some elements of organization, and of whom some had a few unstable alliances with more powerful indian movements, might gain a political space.

The Constituent Assembly to draft the new constitution was voted in on 9 December 1990, but prior to this a series of preparatory discussions took place. Existing black organizations participated, as did individual blacks and academics such as Nina de Friedemann and Jaime Arocha. A new black organization was formed, based in

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Buenaventura and called the Coordinator of Black Communities. A proposal was signed by a variety of black and indian groups that referred to blacks as an "ethnic group" with equal rights to the indian communities. Meanwhile a variety of black individuals came forward as candidates for the Constituent Assembly elections. Some were essentially politicians whose connection with any kind of community participation was dubious. One was Carlos Rosero, a representative of the Coordinator, which did have more solid community links.

In any event, no black candidate gained a seat. However, two indian representatives were elected, Francisco Rojas Birry and Lorenzo Muelas, and this is where the indian-black alliance of the Chocó had an impact. The former, an Emberá from the Chocó, had campaigned as a representative of both black and indian communities in the Pacific region and, enjoying greater financial and advisory backing than the black candidates, had convinced many blacks to vote for him. The greater success of the indians in conquering a political space (they also elected three indigenous senators to Congress in the 1991 elections) derives in part from their particular position in the racial order and the differences between blacks and indians discussed in chapter 2.

During the Constituent Assembly, the proposal agreed to in the preparatory sessions was thrown out: some indian delegates even denied all knowledge of it, underlining the unstable nature of the indian-black alliance.[3] Instead, Lorenzo Muelas, along with Orlando Fals Borda, an academic and representative of the party Acción Democrática-M19, formed by the M19 guerrilla movement when it demobilized in March 1990, launched a proposal on ethnic minorities that barely even mentioned blacks, and focused almost entirely on indian groups. Finally, however, after town hall occupations in Quibdó and lobbying of the delegates, Transitory Article 55 was passed.

This event has intensified the process of black organization, mostly in the Pacific region. Peasant associations have begun to emerge all over the coast. Many of them have been initiated by the church, but this is not a straightforward process. In some cases, for example, the clergyman involved has been a local black and a member of the Cimarrón movement. Cimarrón is the National Movement for the Human Rights of Black Communities in Colombia, formed in 1982 and for many years an urban intellectual movement of the familiar kind. Recently it has begun to engage in grass-roots community organization and has been an inspiration for many individual blacks (see chapter 17). In other cases, the Coordinator was involved in advising community organizations. All of these peasant associations are essentially concerned with land rights, but in the discussions and seminars that

form much of their early activities, black history, culture, and identity are always subjects, even when the church is a main initiator of the process.

One of the main spurs for organization was the need to influence the special commission called for by Transitory Article 55. The government dragged its heels on this, and only officially inaugurated the commission on 14 July 1992, effectively wasting half the time permitted for the drafting of the requisite law. However, the black communities did achieve representation: four consultative commissions were established by the government for the Pacific coast departments. They are composed of local black community organizations and each has three delegates on the special commission. The latter, which also includes representatives from government agencies and a group of politicians and academics, has so far met twice.

This is not the place to enter into details of the discussions of the special commission.[4] The government's motives appear to be clear. The Pacific region, like the Amazon region, is to be opened up for colonization and development. Transitory Article 55 and the rights given to indian communities are concessions to the local people. In the case of the blacks, the only concrete result of the special commission is liable to be the granting of collective land title to some communities: the rest of the provisions concerning cultural identity, rights, and the promotion of development are so vague and so hard to put into juridical practice, especially in the time available, that the black delegates will be fighting a losing battle in trying to achieve something effective in this area.

But, like it or not, the government has provided a significant political space for black communities. Although much of the recent organization has been promoted by the church and is in direct response to a state concession granted partly through the offices of indian representatives, important precedents have been established that may well feed into a wider movement.

Reflecting on these developments in the context of the problems facing black organization and politicization in general in Colombia (see chapter 17), it is clear that the present politicization relies heavily on a regional focus, even though, for example, some of the black delegates on the special commission are from the north of Cauca, or from Palenque de San Basilio. In this way, the problem of who is to be classed as black does not arise so obviously, since the Pacific coast is the black region *par excellence*. Even so, most of the black representatives that I spoke to did not conceive of the ambiguity of black identity as a problem in itself, although they admitted that there were "black" people who refused to admit it and mulattoes who wanted

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to reject their black heritage. In other words, for them the problem was not of structural ambiguity, but of personal identification, and recent events show that there are plenty of people willing to identify as black and participate in political or social movements that overtly address a black audience.

In this sense, focusing on the fragmented racial loyalties of blacks or on the structural ambiguity of blackness as the main problems facing black organization may bias the analysis by isolating blacks and mulattoes from their political context to concentrate on their internal characteristics. Political context—international as well as national—is also a crucial factor, and change in that arena can cause people to alter their loyalties and identifications (as it has done in Colombia and in Brazil). Black organization in Colombia has its problems, but it is not paralyzed. In this respect, Amir Smith-Córdoba, leader of the Center for the Investigation and Development of Black Culture in Bogotá (see chapter 17), who is notorious for his habit of approaching people in the street whom he considers black and saying "¡Hola, negro!" recounts that his victims (classified by him with more North than Latin American definitions of black tend to react with less surprise or hostility today than they would have ten or fifteen years ago.

What we are witnessing, then, is the emergence of a more solid ethnic identity than previously existed. Whereas before, if a black identity could be said to exist, then it was based on very general ideas of a shared history, a shared notion of being "black" (itself an ambiguous status), and the shared suffering of discrimination (which was not even agreed on by all "blacks"). Now, there is a definite element claiming that blacks are an ethnic group, and does so in privileged encounters with the state (i.e., in the Constituent Assembly and in the special commission). Thus, an "imagined community" of blacks is emerging (Anderson 1983), not just of its own accord but in a complex and dialectic relation between the state (in the form of various specific agencies), the church, the black communities, and the black organizations that claim to represent them. The state is playing an equivocal game: the Constitution has several articles that refer to "ethnic groups," but the term is never defined and essentially refers to indians and perhaps the English-speaking blacks of Colombia's Caribbean island possessions. The general tenor of the Constituent Assembly was to deny ethnic group status to blacks. Transitory Article 55 itself confirms this, being directed at the blacks of a specific geographical area rather than at an ethnic group as such. The article has fed a movement which does claim an ethnic identity for blacks, however, and the church and state development agencies include sessions

on black history and culture in their social development programs that help to make such a claim more likely to attract adherents.

The potential problems of antagonism noted in the concluding chapter are muted insofar as the discourse of ethnicity used by most of these organizations is not exclusivist. This is true, in part, because an exclusive definition of black people is not necessary to mobilize self-identifying blacks. Black peasant associations often invite indians to their meetings, and even the more radical black groups such as Cimarrón or the Coordinator (the personnel of which sometimes use African names) tend to have a double-stranded discourse that addresses both blacks and people with black heritage, inviting the latter to look at the presence and value of blackness within themselves and the nation. It remains to be seen whether this delicate balance between openness and exclusiveness can be maintained, whether it is possible to make progress without pushing toward an ever more exclusive ethnicity. The results achieved so far, although modest, are encouraging.

Notes

1. See Jenny Pearce, *Colombia: Inside the Labyrinth* (London: Latin American Bureau, 1990).

2. See Pierre-Michel Fontaine, "Transnational Relations and Racial Mobilization: Emerging Black Movements in Brazil." In *Ethnic Identities in a Transnational World*, edited by John F. Stack (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981).

3. See Jaime Arocha, "Los Negros y la Nueva Constitución Colombiana de 1991," *América Negra* 3 (1992): 39–54.

4. An article detailing the process of black organization before, during, and after the constitutional reform is in preparation for *América Negra*, a journal published by the Universidad Pontifica Javeriana in Bogotá.

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To the people of Colombia,
particularly the people of the Chocó,
and to my parents, for their
constant support

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Psychology 130

"Aging Across Cultures"

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Directions for completing the Aging modules:

_____ A. Read the materials highlighted in each section of the modules.

_____ B. Word process your answers to the discussion questions at the end of each summary or research article.

In some cases, you will be assigned some but not all of the discussion questions.

_____ C. Pick up the teacher feedback one week after completion of the module.

Module 1

Basic Changes of Aging

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

Word process your answers to the following discussion questions. Answer each question in an essay format.

1. Please write a short (2-3 pages) essay about your view of yourself at age 70. Write in the first person and include a detailed account of what you imagine a typical day would be for you at that age. Include physical, social, and environmental circumstances in your essay.

2. There are various definitions of aging. Explicate the distinctions between these definitions by giving behavioral/hypothetical examples of chronological, functional, psychological, and social aging.

3. Most cultures endorse some beliefs or myths about aging or aged persons. List 3-5 beliefs that are widely accepted among people your current age.

   What are some potential negative consequences of these beliefs for both the elderly and younger persons?

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Required Reading

Aging Across Cultures

I. Basic Concepts on Aging

1. Chronological aging represents only an approximate measure of the normatlue development or changes within an individual or age cohort. There is great variation in physical, emotional, social, and psychological development within and between individuals. the chronological aging of an individual Interacts with a societal history, with a personal history, and with a number Of sociodemographic factors (such as class, gender, ethnicity, education, place of residence).

2. Functional aging is a more accurate measure of aging, since individual differences by age are considered. Functional aging reflects the relationship between biological maturation or deterioration and how well, It at all, an individual can adapt and perform specific physical, social, or cognitive tasks.

3. Psychological aging Involves the reaction to biological, cognitive, sensory, motor, emotional, and behavioral changes within an individual, as well as the reaction to external environmental factors that Influence behavior and lifestyle.

4. Social aging involves patterns of Interaction between the aging individual and the social structure. Hang social positions are related to chronological age, and individuals are expected to conform to the age-based norms associated with these positions. Social aging is also Influenced by the size and composition of the social structure as it changes over time, by change within a society and by cultural and subculture variations In-attitudes-toward aging and the aged.

5. A number of unsubstantiated beliefs about aging and the aged are accepted as fact. These myths may Influence the behavior and expectations of aging individuals, as well as the attitudes of younger people toward older people, especially those outside the kinship system.

6. Aging as a social process can be studied on three levels of analysis: the 'individual' level (the micro level), which is concerned with age changes within Individuals and age differences between groups of individuals; the 'social system' level (the macro level), which is concerned with the influence of the social structure on the aging individual and the influence of various social processes on aging individual or age cohorts; and the 'comparative' level, which attempts -to explain aging by searching for cultural or subcultural variations or similarities within or between societies.

7. Age differences between individuals or cohorts can be inferred from cross-sectional research studies, whereas changes with age may be Inferred from a longitudinal study. Cohort analysis may be used to infer age changes and age differences.

8. The aging process Is influenced by elements in the physical environment such as geographical region, the type and quality of housing and neighborhood, and rural or urban residence.

9. Ascribed or achieved attributes of an Individual (gender, race, religion, education, income, class, martial status, ethnicity) influence life chances and lifestyle, and are important factors in the analysis of aging as a social process. These attributes acquire different social meanings or values within different cultures and at different points in the life cycle.

10. The evaluation of these attributes by means of social differentiation creates class, racial, ethnic, and gender stratification systems In many societies. These systems interact with age to Influence both the process of aging and the status of being old. Individuals located near the least-valued end of these various stratification systems may be disadvantaged (blacks, females) through life, and may experience Increased discrimination, segregation, or Isolation as they age.

Excerpted from:
McPherson, B.Q. (1990). Aging as a Social Process: Introduction to individual and Population Aging. (2nd Ed.) Toronto: Butterworths.

II. Anthropological Methods for the Study of Did Age and Aging

A. Anthropology as a discipline studies the human species, Its evolution adaptations, of which culture Is central.
   1. a. U.S. departments train in 4 major areas; archaeology, physical, linguistics and social/cultural

   2. Culture, the key human adaptation, refers to the shared understandings, or meanings, transmitted and maintained by members of human groups. An important Issue for anthropologists Is to distinguish human characteristics and behaviors that are universal to the species from those that are culturally shaped and variable.

   3. Major characteristic of anthropological research are therefore that it is comparative, holistic, emic, and often concerned about origin.

   4. important strategies for data collection by anthropologists are: participant observation, life history, in-depth Interviewing, social network mapping.

B. Anthropological research on age and aging
   1. Bio-physical
      a. studies of other primates
      b. studies of physical correlates of human aging in different environments

   2. Social-cultural (most research on age and aging is this type)
      a. structural/organizational uses of age
         1. age-graded societies
         2. status and treatment of elderly group members
      b. personal experience of older persons
      c. "missing link" between structure and experience

C. Example of research "Project Age": comparative community studies In seven sites. Project Age, generation, and experience.

1. Goal to discover characteristics of communities that influence well-being of older persons, and the mechanisms through which those characteristics are linked to the life experiences of individuals.
    - a. Sites chosen to vary in scale, stability, family structure, age grouping, resources, demography and to be meaningful units in which cultural mechanisms can operate, e.g. towns, villages, neighborhoods, public housing estates
        1. needed researchers familiar with site and fluent in language.
        2. funding from NIA
        3. sites: Kung, Herero, Clifden, Blessington, Momence, Swarthmore, Hong King neighborhoods and housing estates

2. Major methodological challenge to balance validity and comparability
    - a. concept definition and strategies for discovering measures shared, measures site-specific
        1. functionality
        2. well-being
        3. perceptions of the life course
    - b. data management and analysis
        1. computer storage
        2. coding
        3. shift from reliability to comparability
        4. combination of qualitative and quantitative in interpretation and presentation

3. Most work on the aged in primitive societies employs the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) - a large file of assembled and codified Information that ethnographers and anthropologists have collected in a world sample of human societies. This data can be used by modern researchers to make comparisons and test hypotheses about societies studied in the past.

4. Research Perspectives used to investigate social and cultural Influences on Aging.
    - a. Comparative: How one society differs from another; what is the origin of the behavior or pattern?
    - b. Holistic: Look at a whole group or social unit; not individuals. The unit or group you study may not he definable in advance.
    - c. Emic: The meaning of a behavior or pattern within a particular social group: (culture, nation, family, clan, tribe).
      Primary method:
      Participant observation = Take a role In the group which is already present: waitress, office worker, nurses aide, field worker. Method yields powerful data about life from within the group "emic"
    - d. Etic: Quantitative factors Suggested Readings

1. Jennie Keith "Age In Social and Cultural Context: Anthropological Perspectives" in Robert Binstock and Linda George, eds., Handbook of Aging and the Social Sciences. 3rd Ed. New York: Academic Press, 1990.

2. Jennie Keith "Participant Observation" in W. Schaie, A. Campbell, W. Meredith and J. Nesseiroade, Eds., Methodological Issues In Aging Research. New York: Springer, 1988.

3. Patricia Draper and Jennie Keith "Cultural of Care: Family Caregiving to the Elderly in Africa and America" in Journal of Aging Studies, March 1992.

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MODULE II

THE STATUS OF THE ELDERLY

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

WORD PROCESS YOUR ANSWERS TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS. DISCUSS EACH QUESTION IN AN ESSAY FORMAT.

1. The modernization hypothesis states that the elderly lose power and status when a society becomes modernized. Explain and demonstrate (give examples) of the conflicting evidence for this thesis. What variables and factors account for the different reactions of societies to technological change.

2. Discuss situations in which the support for aging parents is a cultural norm, but may not lead to quality support of the physical, emotional, or psychological needs of aging.

3. Compare and contrast how two Asian subcultures influence the process of aging, particularly the status and treatment of the elderly.

4. What are the characteristics of communities or cultures that affect the long-term care of their older members? Describe these characteristics, their effects and the mechanisms that link them; then discuss how a national policy addressing needs for long-term care should take them into consideration.

5. The emergence of separate residential communities of older people is a recent development in the U.S. and western Europe. Some planners are looking for ways to promote this development and expand it to meet the needs of a more diverse range of older people. What needs of aging people do these “Sun City" communities appear to meet? Discuss the conditions under which you think separate residential communities are likely to be successful vehicles for meeting the needs of older people.

Discuss the consequences of these communities for the meaning of age in the society at large.

6. What factors, beliefs, behavior patterns and relationships distinguish the elderly in Asian cultures from those living in Western cultures.

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Module 1

Aging Across Cultures

READ:

Keith, J., Fry C.L. & Ikels, C. (1990). Community as context for successful aging. In J. Sokolovsky (Ed.) The Cultural Context of Aging: Worldwide Perspectives (245-261). NY: Bergin & Garvey Publishers.

QUESTION:

Write a 3-5 page essay on the following:

What major concepts and ideas did researchers find contributed to elder well-being among individuals in Swathmore, Momence and Hong Kong. Where was aging "most comfortable" and explain your opinion.

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MODULE 2:

THE FOLLOWING ARE ANOTHER SET OF QUESTIONS THAT CAN BE USED TO EXPAND THE DISCUSSION OF THE ARTICLE.

1. SUMMARIZE THE CONCEPTS AND IDEAS CONTRIBUTING TO ELDER WELL-BEING AMONG INDIVIDUALS LIVING IN SWARTHMORE, PA.; MOMENCE, IL.; AND HONG KONG.

2.
    a. WRITE A SHORT (2-3 PAGES) ESSAY ABOUT YOUR VIEW OF YOURSELF AT AGE 70. WRITE IN THE FIRST PERSON AND INCLUDE A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF WHAT YOU IMAGINE A TYPICAL DAY WOULD BE FOR YOU AT THE AGE. INCLUDE PHYSICAL, SOCIAL, FAMILY, AND ENVIRONMENTAL (CITY, HOME, NURSING HOME?) CIRCUMSTANCES IN YOU ESSAY.

    b. HOW DOES YOUR VIEW OF YOURSELF AGING DIFFER FROM YOUR VIEW OF AN AGED INDIVIDUAL IN HONG KONG OR OTHER ASIAN COUNTRIES?

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Aging Across Cultures

READ:

Aranda, M.P. & Knight, B.G. (1997). The influence of ethnicity an culture on the caregiver stress and coping process: a sociocultural review and analysis. The Gerontologist ,37:3, 342-354.

Question:

Write a 3-5 page essay on the following:

What are the special challenges that face caregivers of older Latinos in the US? What is the role of ethnicity and culture in the stress and the coping processes of Latino caregivers?

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The authors review the literature on ethnic minority caregivers and suggest that ethnicity and culture play a significant role in the stress and coping process for Latino caregivers. Caregivers of older Latinos face special challenges in the caregiving for individuals at higher risk for specific chronic diseases, who are disabled at earlier ages, and who have more functional disabilities. Ethnicity and culture can also influence the appraisal of stress events, the perception and use of family support, and coping behaviors. Socioeconomic class and minority group status are discussed as additional sources of variation in the caregiver stress and coping model.

Key Words: Culture, Caregiving, Stress and coping, Latinos, Hispanics, Social support

The Influence of Ethnicity and Culture on the Caregiver Stress and Coping Process: A Sociocultural Review and Analysis[1]

María P. Aranda, PhD[2] and Bob G. Knight, PhD[3]

Population projections for the period between 1987 to the year 2000 indicate that the increase for older Latinos is expected to be nearly five times as great as the rate of growth for the entire Anglo older adult population (76.9 vs 15.9%; U.S. Select Committee on Aging, 1989). Increasing numbers of older persons in the Latino population places unforeseen long-term care demands on Latino caregivers, yet minimal attention has been given to the issue of caregiving in this group. Since there is a dearth of research related to the stress and coping process of Latino caregivers, we propose to review the extant literature on Latino caregivers and to suggest directions for future research on how ethnicity and culture play a role in the stress and coping model for caregiving distress in this population. We will also draw from literature on related social science research, other ethnic minority caregivers, and the literature on ethnicity and aging. Since the term "Latino" is somewhat problematic given the intragroup differences likely to exist, e.g., Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central and South American, caution should be taken in noting sources of variation among the subgroups studied (see Appendix, Note 1). Where available, specific ethnic qualifiers will be used to relate the review results to the group under study.

This leads to the important issue of definition of terms used throughout the article. Ethnicity refers to a group's shared sense of peoplehood based on a distinctive social and cultural heritage passed on from generation to generation (Gordon, 1964). In the United States, "the core categories of ethnic identity from which individuals are able to form a sense of peoplehood are race, religion, national origin, or some combination of these categories" (Mindel, Habenstein, & Wright, 1988, p. 5). Culture, on the other hand, is defined as a group's way of life: the values, beliefs, traditions, symbols, language, and social organization that become meaningful to the group members. Such terms as acculturation and minority group status will be defined in the context of the remaining sections of the article.

Stress and Coping Models of Caregiving

The understanding of caregiver distress has come from the literature on stress research (Folkman, Lazarus, Pimley, & Novacek, 1987; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984a, 1984b; Pearlin & Schooler, 1979) and the caregiver stress process (Lawton, Moss, Kleban, Glicksman, Rovine, 1991; Pearlin, Mullan, Semple, & Skaff, 1990; Zarit, 1989). A review of work on the impact of caregiving on families of functionally dependent older adults reveals that there is some agreement on the major components which comprise a multivariate theoretical model of caregiver stress and coping (Lawton et al., 1991; Pearlin et al., 1990; Poulshock & Deimling, 1984; Schulz, Tompkins, & Rau, 1988; Zarit, 1994). In general, stress and coping models include

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the following categories of variables: a) contextual or background variables such as age, gender, socioeconomic status, relationship of the caregiver to the patient, etc.; b) primary stressors and secondary strains on the caregiver as a result of directly caring for the impaired person, and the "spillover" effects into other domains of the caregiver's life such as family and work; c) the caregiver's appraisal of demands as stressful or satisfying; d) the potential mediators of burden: coping attitudes and behaviors and social support; and e) the consequences of those demands, i.e., quality of life and physical and mental health.

We propose that ethnicity and culture play a significant role in the stress and coping process of caregivers to the elderly as a result of a) a differential risk for specific health disorders and disability, b) variation in the appraisal of potential stressors, and c) the effect on stress-mediating variables such as social support and coping. First, we will explore the possibility that ethnicity and culture change the nature of caregiving by exposing the Latino population to different risks for specific illnesses and disability.

Health Stressors on Latino Caregivers: Illness-Specific Demands and Disability

If Latinos suffer from different patterns of illnesses as they age due to genetic, environmental, and lifestyle factors, then Latino caregivers may be caring for disabled elderly persons with different types and/or levels of complications and functional disabilities than the general aged population. We turn our attention to the literature on diabetes as an illustration of how the nature of a serious chronic illness can affect late-life caregiving needs. Later, we will conclude this section by reviewing functional disability and long-term care.

Diabetes. — Non-insulin-dependent diabetes mellitus (or type II diabetes mellitus) is a significant source of morbidity in Latinos over the age of forty. Prevalence rates for non-insulin-dependent diabetes indicate that Latinos are two to five times more likely to develop diabetes than non-Latinos (Baxter et al., 1993; Hamman et al., 1989; Hanis et al., 1983; U.S. Select Committee on Aging, 1992). Obesity, socioeconomic factors, and a genetic contribution are implicated as possible explanations for the excess rates (Hazuda, Haffner, Stern, & Eifler, 1988; Marshall et al., 1993). The age-related deaths due to diabetes are especially high among Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans, but lower for Cubans, who are only about half as likely to die from diabetes (U.S. Select Committee on Aging, 1992). Latina women are especially at risk, as evidenced by one population-based study showing that Latina females living in rural southern Colorado were 4.8 times more likely than Anglo females to have confirmed non-insulin-dependent diabetes (Hamman et al., 1989).

Reports from a study based on the same rural Colorado sample indicate that, not only do Latinos have higher diabetes prevalence rates, but that a pattern of earlier onset of approximately ten years may exist among both Latino men and women as compared with their Anglo counterparts (Baxter et al., 1993). Furthermore, once afflicted with diabetes, Latinos have a more severe form of the disease resulting in disproportionately higher rates of diabetes-related complications (U.S. Select Committee on Aging, 1992). Diabetes complications are considered medical problems that occur more often in people with diabetes than in others without diabetes. Categories of complications include: a) obesity, b) retinopathy (a diabetic eye disease which is the leading cause of blindness in the U.S.), c) peripheral neuropathy (nerve damage affecting the legs and feet), d) kidney disease requiring permanent hemodialysis, e) vascular disease resulting in stroke and heart disease, and f) amputations (American Diabetes Association, 1989; Pugh, Stern, Haffner, Eifler, & Zapata, 1988; U.S. Select Committee on Aging, 1992; Villa, Cuellar, Gamel, & Yeo, 1993). The fact that Latinos are identified at a later stage of the disease and have a more serious form of the disease once diagnosed has implications for the caregiver, as will be discussed.

Acculturation has also been found to have an effect on diabetes and obesity among Mexican Americans. For example, in a San Antonio, Texas-based study of Mexican Americans, Hazuda and her associates (Hazuda et al., 1988) found that higher acculturation, as measured by a multidimensional acculturation scale, had a protective effect against diabetes. More specifically, an increased level of acculturation was associated with a statistically significant decline in both obesity and diabetes for men and women alike. For women, socioeconomic status was also inversely related to obesity and diabetes, although the relationship was not as strong as that attributed to acculturation. Thus, for both sexes, "cultural factors play a more pervasive role in the development of obesity and diabetes among Mexican Americans than do purely socioeconomic factors" (p. 1298). Such findings underscore the importance that researchers address health stressors of specific subpopulations of "Latinos" (e.g., males, females, low/high acculturated, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, rural/urban, etc.) and how these groups may pose similar or diverse challenges in the caregiving context as compared to the general population. Understandably, the preponderance of efforts in this area of Latino research is based on samples of Mexican Americans, who constitute almost 60% of the U.S. Latino population (Bean & Tienda, 1987).

Deserving of attention in the above-cited study is the multidimensionality of acculturation and how each dimension differentially influences various health outcomes. Specifically, of the three acculturation dimensions measured (i.e., functional integration with mainstream society, value placed on preserving Mexican cultural origin, and attitude toward traditional family structure and sex-role organization; see Hazuda, Stern, & Haffner, 1988), only atti-

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tude toward traditional family structure and sex-role organization was related to obesity in men, whereas all three scales were related to obesity in women. Furthermore, when the two remaining scales were included in the same multivariate analysis, only the effect of functional integration with mainstream society remained statistically significant in both gender groups. The findings that three separate dimensions of adult acculturation were measured and that these dimensions were differentially associated with obesity and diabetes in men and women underscore the importance of addressing multidimensionality in cultural mediators of health status.

The nature of caregiving for a family member with diabetes mellitus and its sequelae may present special challenges for the Latino caregiver. The caregiver is more likely to be caring for a diabetic family member who is corpulent, vision-impaired, having difficulties in stabilizing his or her blood glucose levels, and at risk for vascular disease, peripheral neuropathy, amputation, and end-stage renal disease (American Diabetes Association, 1989; Pugh et al., 1988; U.S. Select Committee on Aging, 1992; Villa et al., 1993). Consequently, the caregiver may be more intensely involved in tasks related to providing tangible assistance in the following areas: a) home blood glucose monitoring, b) medication administration, including injections, c) patient weight control and diet compliance, d) exercise regimen, e) pain management (due to poor circulation or nerve damage in the legs or feet), f) wound and foot care (due to chronic diabetic ulcers and infections), g) body transfers (e.g., moving patient from bed to chair, etc.), h) transportation (to health care providers, including for frequent dialysis treatments).

Aside from the tangible tasks listed above, Latino caregivers are faced with the psychosocial challenges of providing care to the diabetes-affected older adult. Focus group findings based on a study of the health status and service utilization of 35 low income older Latinos receiving health services from a primary medical clinic in the East Los Angeles area have underscored typical sources of stress: role changes in the patient-caregiver dyad, interpersonal conflicts related to treatment compliance, increased anxiety over responsibility for prevention of complex medical emergencies and their management, and an increased sense of futility related to progressive deterioration of the patient's vital organs (Aranda & Galvan, 1993). To illustrate, let us turn our attention to a case vignette reported by the Sánchez family from this study.

> Mr. and Mrs. Sánchez, an elderly couple, were both born and raised in El Paso, Texas. Mrs. Sánchez cares for her spouse who was diagnosed with non-insulin-dependent diabetes mellitus 14 years ago, and who has since had one below-the-knee amputation. She gives her spouse daily injections of insulin. The patient has poor circulation and complains of tingling and burning pain in his remaining limb which causes him excessive pain during the night. Although he is taking pain medication, he reports minimal relief. Mrs. Sánchez wakes up frequently during the night to try to comfort her spouse. She complains of lost sleep and increased anxiety over her inability to attenuate his physical pain. Mrs. Sánchez also complains of back problems which she has developed as a result of transferring and repositioning her spouse in order to avoid the formation of bed sores.

It is important to note that although Mrs. Sánchez may be facing increased demands (or a different constellation of demands) due to the nature of the diabetes-related illnesses, she, like many other Latino caregivers, has decreased access to information on the prevention, pathophysiology, diagnosis, and management of diabetes in comparison to her non-Latino White counterparts (U.S. Select Committee on Aging, 1992). Second, pre-existing cultural beliefs regarding the nature, course, and treatment of diabetes may have a significant effect on stress and adaptational outcomes. For example, in the qualitative study cited above, anecdotal information from the focus group participants supported the notion that at least for this specific sample, Latinos equated being diabetic "with eating too many carbohydrates, e.g., refined sugar and sweets, and needing to be on a diet." Thus, patients may be encouraged by family and friends to skip meals with the goal of decreasing their caloric intake. This can precipitate a serious medical crisis such as a hypoglycemic reaction in the diabetic patient and increase the caregiving demands for the caregiver. Another example of a culture-bound belief expressed by the participants is that "injections of insulin cause blindness and need for amputations." Perhaps because Latinos are diagnosed with diabetes at a later stage, diabetes-related complications are already evident, and the initiation of insulin treatments is associated with the onset of serious complications. This could have deleterious effects on treatment compliance, resulting in increased morbidity and increased caregiver demands. Whether provision of timely, accurate information can dispel these and other ideas is yet to be determined empirically.

The focus in the previous section on diabetes is meant to illustrate the ways in which specific differences in morbidity can influence caregiving demands. Latinos are also susceptible to a broad range of diseases leading to functional disability such as heart disease, cancer, and stroke (Markides & Coreil, 1986; Mitchell, Stern, Haffner, Hazuda, & Patterson, 1990; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1990), which also warrant further investigation into their effects on the well-being of the Latino caregiver. We would also like to note that for Anglo caregivers, dementing illnesses such as Alzheimer's disease constitute a major reason for caregiving and a central focus of study in the caregiving research literature (Light & Lebowitz, 1989) as will be noted in subsequent sections of this article. While ethnic differences in the rates of dementing illnesses have been examined, the rates for dementing illnesses in the Latino population are uncertain (Gurland, Wilder, Cross, Teresi, & Barrett, 1992). Clearly, more work is needed to establish the prevalence of de-

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menting illnesses among the Latino population, the possible risk associated with Latino ethnicity and culture, and the effect on the experience of caregiving.

Functional Disability. — In addition to differences in the types and nature of illnesses affecting older Latinos, the need for care due to illness may be more frequent among Latino older adults, and the obstacles delaying access to formal sources of care may be greater than those of the Anglo population. The need for long-term care appears to be greater among older Latinos as a result of their disadvantaged functional status: they report greater deficits in basic self-care activities (40%) than elderly people in general (23%), and in instrumental activities of daily living (54% vs 27%; Commonwealth Fund Commission, 1989). Latinos also have a higher incidence of restricted activity days (46.5 vs 38.7 for Anglos), and increased bed disability days (20.7 vs 12.9; see Villa et al., 1993; U.S. Select Committee on Aging, 1989). Furthermore, elderly Latinos report having been cared for by a family member following a hospitalization more frequently than the general elderly population (Commonwealth Fund Commission, 1989).

Although Latino elders report higher levels of impairment and a greater need for community-based services than the general population, the literature supports the conclusion that older Latinos underutilize community-based, long-term care services (Greene & Monahan, 1984; Torres, 1995; Wallace & Lew-Ting, 1992). Thus, past empirical efforts have shown that the Latino older adult has a lower functional status than the general population, requires higher levels of informal community care, and is less able to access and afford long-term care services when needed.

In summary, future research endeavors should test the hypothesis that caregivers of older Latinos may be facing special challenges in caregiving for an individual who is: a) at risk for specific diseases, such as diabetes and its numerous medical and psychosocial complications, b) disabled at an earlier age, and with a more severe form of the illness, c) afflicted with higher levels of functional disabilities, and d) less able to access long-term care services.

Appraisal of Stesssors

Caregiving Burden. — Ethnicity and culture can also influence the experience of caregiving vis-à-vis the culturally specific appraisals of the caregiving situation. While there is very little data on caregiver burden among Latinos per se, there exists a small yet growing empirical literature that compares how different cultural groups experience the strain or positive outcomes of caring for their functionally dependent elders. A study by Morycz and his associates (Morycz, Malloy, Bozich, & Martz, 1987) examined the differential impact of caregiving strain between Blacks and Whites in a sample of elderly patients from an urban geriatric assessment center. First, the data suggested that although ethnicity by itself made little difference in the amount and the experience of family burden between the Black and White groups studied, a significant interaction effect was found between ethnicity and care for a patient with a diagnosis of Alzheimer's disease: Black families were less burdened caring for a family member with dementia than were Whites and were much less likely than Whites to institutionalize a cognitively impaired family member. In fact, when the patient had Alzheimer's disease, only 12% of Blacks versus 82% of Whites institutionalized their family member.

Another important finding was that the two ethnic groups differed in terms of which caregiving tasks predicted burden. For example, Black caregivers were more burdened by the provision of assistance related to physical activities of daily living (ADLs; toileting, bathing, dressing, eating), while Whites experienced increased burden from the provision of instrumental activities of daily living (IADLs; shopping, money management, taking medications, preparing meals). Morycz and his associates also reported that socioeconomic status, which is often confounded with ethnicity, was not a significant predictor of burden, but was a significant predictor of institutionalization in the Black sample. Thus for Blacks, having insufficient financial resources and social supports predicted the disposition to admit their family member to a nursing home. This finding may reflect the tendency for public support programs (e.g., Medicaid) to encourage institutional care by underfunding community-based, in-home care.

The finding that Blacks reported lower mean levels of burden than did Whites in the care of Alzheimer's disease patients was corroborated by two studies (Haley et al., 1996; Lawton, Rajagopal, Brody, & Kleban, 1992) which found significant ethnic differences in caregiving appraisal between Blacks and Whites. In the work by Lawton et al. (1992), initial descriptive comparisons of means indicated that Black caregivers of Alzheimer's patients reported more favorable scores on traditional caregiving ideology, subjective burden, caregiving satisfaction, and caregiving as intrusion than White caregivers. When interactions were tested between background variables and ethnicity, it was found that the interaction terms of ethnicity by age and ethnicity by income significantly predicted caregiving burden and caregiving intrusion. First, older Black caregivers experienced less burden, while more burden was reported by White caregivers as their age increased. Second, higher income caregivers were more burdened than lower income caregivers in the Black sample, while Whites showed the reverse pattern. In terms of caregiving as an intrusion on life style, more highly educated Blacks reported intrusion than better educated Whites. A later study by Haley et al. (1996) showed that Black caregivers appraised caregiving as less stressful than did Whites and that this appraisal acted as a mediator of the relationship of race to lower depression. In other words, Blacks reported lower depression vis-à-vis their less distressed appraisals of the caregiving situation. The fact that intragroup as well as intergroup differences were found in terms of caregiver appraisal points to the need for formulating and testing hypotheses on interaction effects of age, income, education and other ethnic differences in the subjective caregiving experience of Latino caregivers. Such attention to subgroups of Latino caregivers can enrich our understanding of how caregiving may be appraised differently by those who are younger, better educated, and have higher incomes.

Research on Latino Caregivers. — It is conceivable that ethnicity and culture may also help predict burden among other ethnic groups, including those of Latino origin. For example, in a cross-sectional comparative study, Valle, Cook-Gait, and Tazbaz (1993) found significant differences between Latino and Anglo caregivers to dementia-affected older adults living in the greater San Diego, California area in their reactivity to the caregiving role. The Latino sample (*n* = 38), which was mainly Mexican American, appeared to react more strongly than the Anglo sample (*n* = 52) both to the overall caregiving situation and to the overall tasks of caregiving, even though the caregiving responsibilities between both groups were similar. Not only did they report feeling generally more bothered, Latinos were more likely than the Anglos to report feeling bothered or upset by, a) such specific tasks as feeding, dressing, toileting, etc., and b) the person's "problem" behaviors, such as hiding things and constantly reliving the past. No differences were found in response to "difficult or dangerous" behaviors such as incontinence, wandering, and combativeness.

Other research has supported the greater psychological distress in response to specific aspects of the caregiving context by Latino and Black caregivers (Cox & Monk, 1993; Hinrichsen & Ramírez, 1992; Mui, 1992; Wykle & Segal, 1991). Cox and Monk (1990, 1993) undertook a comparative study of Latino (*n* = 86) and Black (*n* = 76) caregivers to dementia-affected older adults in New York City. Approximately half of the Latino sample was Puerto Rican and the remainder were from Cuba or Central or South America. The researchers found that Latino caregivers perceived their caregiving responsibilities to be a greater burden than did Blacks (mean scores on the Zarit Burden Interview of 36.6 and 23.4, respectively, which were roughly equal to that found for White samples in previous studies (30.8 and 33.6; Zarit, Reever, & Bach-Peterson, 1980; Zarit, Todd, & Zarit, 1986 respectively). It should be noted that the test of significant differences in levels of burden reported did not control for the degree of the older person's memory, behavior, and ADL impairment.

Empirical data available on the overall physical and mental health of Latino caregivers is limited and inconclusive. In a report based on statewide data about caregivers of brain-impaired adults served by the Caregiver Resource Centers in California, ethnic minority caregivers (the majority of whom were Latinos) were significantly more likely to be in fair to poor health than non-minorities (60% compared to 48%), and to report high levels of depressive symptomatology (73% vs 68% using a cutoff score of 16 on the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale [CES-D]; Friss, Whitlatch, & Yale, 1990). The researchers concluded that the ethnic minority caregivers were "younger, poorer, more likely to be in the labor force juggling multiple responsibilities, and in significantly worse physical and mental health" (p. 106).

Cox and Monk (1990) examined the caregiving experiences of Black and Latino families of dementia victims. Latino caregivers had significantly higher scores than Blacks on the CES-D (mean scores of 19.7 vs 9.74). In the only study found which compared both caregiving and noncaregiving Blacks and Whites, Haley and his associates (Haley et al., 1995) found that only White caregivers had elevated CES-D scores as well as similar patterns for psychological distress. Black caregivers did not differ significantly from either Black or White noncaregivers.

Mintzer and his colleagues (Mintzer et al., 1992), found no significant differences in the level of depression between Cuban American and Anglo daughters of dementia patients living at home in the greater Miami, Florida area. In a Santa Clara County, California study, Yañiz (1990) interviewed Latino caregivers of both physically and dementia-affected elderly and found that 40% of the Latino caregiver sample had CES-D scores in the clinical range. Valle et al. (1993) found significant differences in self-reported health, with Latino caregivers reporting lower perceived health than the Anglo caregivers. On the other hand, no significant differences were found in depression as measured by the CES-D.

Generalizability from the studies cited is limited due to nonrandom sampling, small sample size, and possible cultural biases of the CES-D. The use of the CES-D in Latino populations at times has resulted in exaggerated scores among Latinos, especially among groups characterized as poor, less educated, Spanish-speaking, and female (Aneshensel, Clark, & Frerichs, 1983; Roberts, 1980; Taussig, Harris, Cervantes, & Rosin, 1995; Vega, Kolody, & Valle, 1986; Vega, Warheit, Buhl-Auth, & Meinhardt, 1984), yet reasons for the elevated scores are still being debated. The existing research indicates that Latino caregivers experience significantly poorer health than their Anglo counterparts, while the data supporting differences in psychological distress is equivocal. It can be hypothesized that Latino caregivers experience at least similar and possibly higher levels of burden and depression as compared to Anglos.

It is important to note that the studies on Latino caregivers to date have been exploratory and based on relatively small, cross-sectional, convenience samples. The degree of representativeness and generalizability is therefore compromised. Future work should build on these previous efforts by utilizing larger, randomly selected samples in different regions of the U.S. and measured over time.

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Differential Appraisal of Stressors Among Latinos. — The issue of cultural differences in the perception of stressful events outside of the realm of caregiving per se has been examined in Latino populations. These studies have indirect implications for the appraisal of caregiving stress by Latinos. Cervantes and Castro (1985) reviewed studies from the life change event literature, which has implications for ethnic differences in the appraisal of stressful situations. One study, which utilized the Social Readjustment Rating Scale, looked at the difference between Mexican Americans, Blacks and Anglos in their assessment of the amount of adaptation required by certain life change events (Komaroff, Masuda, & Holmes, 1968). Overall, Blacks gave the life change items higher stress ratings than the other two groups, which may be explained by the lower rating given by Blacks to the criterion item of "getting married." The converse was true for Mexican Americans who responded with lower stress ratings for all other items than the criterion item of "getting married." As summarized by Cervantes and Castro, marriage may have been perceived as requiring more adjustment because of its concomitant changes in the family and extended kinship network.

Whether caregiving for a functional dependent older adult would also carry a higher stress rating by Latinos due to changes in that familial support network is still unclear and in need of empirical testing. As noted earlier, Latino caregivers for demented relatives appear to have levels of burden and depression that are higher than Black caregivers and equal to Whites. The processes that lead to these levels of distress might result from distinct appraisals of the nature and scope of caregiving. Empirical examination of the relative importance of caregiving life events and the appraisal of their benefits and/or consequences is clearly needed.

Another study examined differences between Mexican-origin respondents and Anglos in their perception of the change required on 95 specific life events (see Hough, 1985; Hough, McGarvey, Graham, & Timbers, 1981). The El Paso-Ciudad Juarez border area study found that the Mexican-origin sample (i.e., sample comprised of Mexican nationals in Ciudad Juarez and Mexican-origin Latinos living in El Paso) tended to rate events as requiring significantly more change if the event involved social advancement, e.g., social, economic, and geographic mobility. Anglos rated higher those events which involved negative social interactions within the nuclear family but not of others outside the immediate family, e.g., death of spouse, marital separation or divorce rated as of more concern to them than functional or instrumental events. It may be that changes in upward economic and geographic mobility may reflect "a move out of the larger social structure upon which the Mexican respondents depend and live and thus represent a crucial disruption of that support structure" (Hough, 1985; p. 117), which is less true of the social environment of other Anglo groups. It is unclear whether the same results would hold in other regions of the U.S. or with other Latino-origin groups.

Hough and his associates (Hough, 1982; Hough, McGarvey, Graham, & Timbers, 1981; Hough, 1985) in a follow-up survey, found that Mexican-origin respondents on both sides of the El Paso-Ciudad Juarez border area reported more illness symptoms if the event occurred to significant others in their environment. In this sample, those Mexicans living in Ciudad Juarez were more likely to be distressed by events happening to others than to themselves as compared to both Anglos and the Mexican Americans living on either side of the border. Perhaps, as summarized by Cervantes and Castro (1985)

> extended social support networks are of much greater importance for Mexicans relative to Anglo respondents and that the disruption of these networks is associated with a greater expression of illness by Mexicans. Such an explanation is consistent with the ratings by Mexican respondents that migratory and social mobility life events require more change since such events would obviously be disruptive of extended family networks (p. 23).

Further attempts at analyzing the differential appraisals of life change events, their direct and indirect effects on the individual, and their examination across subgroups of Latinos are sorely needed. However, the work summarized by Cervantes & Castro would seem to indicate that group differences in the appraisal of life change events may be due to ethnic and cultural background. Latino caregivers of frail elderly persons may be likely to experience the relative's illness as more distressing if it requires reorganization or relocation of the family system. It is also likely that the distress may reach beyond the "primary caregiver." If so, differences in culture and its associated world view between these groups and those Mexican Americans living further into the interior of the U.S. as well as those of later generation Latinos must be examined. Thus, key hypotheses requiring further testing are: a) Among Latinos, the family system, rather than a designated primary caregiver, is at risk of emotional distress and physical illness; b) Such factors as socioeconomic status, acculturation, and geographical and generational differences are likely predictors of the perception of life change events; and c) The relative importance attributed to caregiving in relation to other change events can be explained in part by the perception of the consequences to the existing social networks and the fulfillment of cultural norms and filial responsibilities.

Social Support From the Family

Care provided by family and friends, or what has been termed the informal support system, continues to be the traditional source of assistance for elderly persons even today. Previous writers have discussed Latino natural support structures and their viability for providing assistance during acute enduring stress (Becerra & Shaw, 1984; Bengtson, 1979; Sotomayor & Randolph, 1988; Valle & Vega, 1980). There is reason to believe that Latino social structures are at least as supportive as those of the main-

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stream culture, although many have criticized the over-romanticization of the Latino family (Korte, 1982; Leonard, 1967; Maldonado, 1975; Mendes de Leon & Markides, 1988; Rubel, 1966). In any case, most writers are in agreement that the Latino kinship network is an important source of social support for the Latino older adult and a key mediator of stressful life events (Bastida, 1988; Cantor, 1979; Carp, 1969; Dowd & Bengtson, 1979; Sotomayor & Applewhite, 1988; Sotomayor & Randolph, 1988; Szapocznik & Hernández, 1988; Torres-Gil, 1978; Valle & Mendoza, 1978). However, special attention must be given to variations in social support: variation as a result of ethnic memberships in specific subgroups of Latinos, and as a result of multiple network members' exposure to caregiving events. The following review is based on social support provided solely by the informal support system comprised of spouses, children, and other relatives, in contrast to quasi-formal and formal support provided by civic and religious groups and government and private programs.

Latino older adults do rely on family members for functional support following health-related crises. For example, in a randomized national survey of 2,299 elderly Mexican Americans, Cuban Americans, and Puerto Ricans living in the U.S. (Commonwealth Fund Commission, 1989), evidence was found to corroborate previous studies and anecdotal accounts that elderly Latinos rely more heavily on informal sources of support after release from the hospital than they do on organized services: 77% of the Latino survey respondents with long-term impairments received help from a spouse or child, and only 14% cared for themselves. On the other hand, less than 60% of the general elderly population relied on family post-hospitalization support and up to 30% cared for themselves following hospitalization (Commonwealth Fund Commission, 1989; Louis Harris & Associates, 1987). Competing hypotheses to explain why older Latinos rely more on informal supports include cultural preferences, language limitations, and institutional exclusions. Hypothesis-driven empirical research is clearly needed to help clarify these complex issues relevant to the availability of and reliance on informal supports as well as the satisfaction with these supports.

Acculturation and Social Support. — Subgroups of Latinos differ in terms of attitudes regarding support of the elderly. For example, groups that differ in terms of acculturation and recency of immigration play a role in the nature, quantity, and scope of social support from the Latino family. Acculturation refers to the process of cultural change resulting from continuous intergroup contact. In this change process, individuals whose primary cultural learning has been in one culture modify their beliefs, values, and behaviors and absorb the cultural behaviors and characteristic patterns of living from another host or mainstream culture. For example, Zuniga de Martínez (1980) reported on the attitudes of Mexican Americans in the San Diego area regarding support of the elderly and found that as acculturation increased, traditional attitudes regarding familial support of the aged decreased. Although beyond the scope of this article, more recent discussions on the dynamics of acculturation emphasize that acculturation does not occur along a simple continuum of traditional versus mainstream cultural norms, but is multidirectional and can occur differentially across several life domains, e.g., family, work, religion, etc. (Keefe & Padilla, 1987; Valle, 1989). In the Zuniga de Martínez study (1980), weakened reliance on the family was correlated with a departure from identification with Mexican cultural heritage, loss of contact with relatives in Mexico, longer U.S. residency, and English-language ability. Thus, Zuniga de Martínez posits that although Mexican culture is maintained by the closeness to Mexico for many Mexican Americans, for those most affected by acculturation processes, there will be a trend toward less familial support of elderly persons.

Immigration status and recency of immigration are approximate indices of acculturation factors that can potentially influence social support and social networks (Keefe, 1980; Keefe & Padilla, 1987; Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin, & Peréz-Stable, 1987). The preponderance of work in the area of Latino family relations has focused on the Mexican American experience, number of social ties, and the dynamics of the cultural value of familism. Keefe and her associates (Keefe, 1980; Keefe & Padilla, 1987) have found that usage of primary kin networks was positively correlated with generation level. Mexican Americans have the same cultural preference for interacting with relatives whether born in the U.S. or Mexico, but the potential number of local social ties increases with the length of stay in the U.S. Native-born individuals or immigrants living in the U S. for an extended length of time can count on more primary and secondary kinship ties (Keefe & Padilla, 1987). Recent immigrants, on the other hand, may be vulnerable to stress given the geographical remoteness from their natural support networks in their country of origin. However, they may be held accountable by distant family members who have traditional notions on how the older adult should be cared for. Since these hypotheses have yet to be tested empirically, research is necessary in order to ferret out the effects of recency of immigration on the social networks and the experience of caregiving.

For Latinos, conflicts within the family may be indicative of stress due to variation in acculturation level across a) the multiple caregivers (the elder's spouse, adult children, siblings, other caregivers; b) the relevant life domains (family, work, school, religion, health, leisure); and c) the developmental family life cycle changes (child launching, retirement, death, and dying). To illustrate,

> Mr. Alarcón is originally from El Salvador and has been living in the U.S. for the past 20 years. The spouse of an Alzheimer's disease patient, Mr. Alarcón refused to give consent to his wife's physician for her brain to be autopsied upon death. According to Mr. Alarcón, such a procedure is considered of-

fensive to the couple's long held cultural and religious beliefs. According to Mr. Alarcón, the body should be intact after death for the resurrection of the body into "el más allá" (the world after). Yet, he feels pressured by his more acculturated adult children to acquiesce to the request on grounds that it would provide more conclusive evidence regarding the diagnosis. He continues to express that respect for his wife's spiritual beliefs has greater primacy than obtaining information about the source of her memory loss. At times he feels both angry and guilty when his family accuses him of "being a stubborn, old-fashioned *macho*" (see Appendix, Note 2).

Other acculturation conflicts within the caregiving context can arise regarding who becomes identified as the primary caregiver, how serious is the impairment of the elder, which formal service or institution should be accessed for assistance, and when treatments should be implemented, to name only a few (Aranda, 1994). Indeed, more analytic efforts are needed to test the differential effects of acculturation on the perceived attitudes, availability of support, and enacted support toward care of elderly family members across Latino subgroups.

Familism and Social Support. — Other researchers argue that Latinos hold familism values despite variations due to acculturation, recency of immigration, and sociodemographic variables (Sabogal et al., 1987; Keefe & Padilla, 1987). The cultural value of familism, or "a strong identification and attachment of individuals with their families (nuclear and extended), and strong feelings of loyalty, reciprocity and solidarity among members of the same family" (Sabogal et al., 1987, pp. 397–398), has been discussed in the literature and may have implications regarding family care for older Latinos.

Sabogal et al. (1987) measured familism values in a comparison sample of nonelderly Latinos in the San Francisco area (Mexican Americans, Cuban Americans, Puerto Ricans) and non-Latino Whites. The study identified three separate dimensions of familism and their relative resiliency to acculturation changes: 1) family obligations (the individual's perceived obligation to provide material and emotional support to the family), 2) perceived support from the family (the perception of family members as reliable providers of help and support to solve problems), and 3) the family as referent. Perceived support from the family showed the most resiliency to acculturation as compared to the other two dimensions. Nevertheless, even though the highly acculturated Latino groups' adherence to attitudes regarding family obligations and family as referents were lower than the low acculturated, they still had higher ratings than the non-Latino White group. The authors note that the results add support to the hypotheses that a) some familism values decrease in importance as acculturation and exposure to the U.S. culture increase, and b) the similarity in the level of adherence to familism values among the three Latino groups is consistent with the idea that familism is a central value for Latinos.

Ethnic differences in perceived caregiver availability were not supported in a San Antonio, Texas study using a random sample of young-old (65–74 years old) Mexican Americans (n = 309) and non-Latino Whites (n = 340; Talamantes, Cornell, Espino, Lichtenstein, & Hazuda, 1996). Also, there were no overall significant ethnic differences in perceived caregiver availability between Mexican Americans and non-Latino Whites in either middle- or upper-SES neighborhoods. Nevertheless, the authors report that the number of children modified ethnic differences in perceived caregiver availability among middle- and upper-SES Mexican Americans and non-Latino Whites, such that, among those with two or fewer children, Mexican Americans were more likely to have a perceived available caregiver. Conversely, among those with three or more children, Mexican Americans were less likely to report caregiver availability than non-Latino whites. In summary, future research must examine the complex cultural dimensions that influence social support-as-mediator of stress and the intragroup differences potentially influenced by acculturation and its correlates, i.e., recency of immigration, generational status, place of birth, language preference.

The study of informal social supports and social networks go beyond the scope of consanguine ties and may help us understand the complexity of Latino network configurations (Talamantes et al., 1996; Valle et al., 1989). One dementia study commissioned by the federal Office of Technology Assessment (Valle et al., 1989), explored the social network/caregiver configuration of dementia-affected ethnic minority elderly from four groups: American Indian, Japanese Americans, African Americans and Latinos. Close to one third of the primary caregivers sampled were "non-kin," such as friends, neighbors, and paid personal care workers. While Black caregivers had the highest rate of friends and neighbors, Latinos reported the highest rate of paid homemakers. Valle and his colleagues suggested that multiple network actors may mean a form of task distribution across caregivers and/or the absorption of more persons into the attendant stressors of caregiving. The stronger likelihood of relying on non-family caregivers has been found to increase as more children are present for young-old Mexican Americans in the San Antonio, Texas area (Talamantes et al., 1996). Although the family is still the primary category of caregiving individuals for Latinos, the idea that paid personal care workers may have a role in the caregiving of elder Latinos has not been addressed in the literature. It is still unclear, however, which factors influence the absorption of non-kin persons and personal care workers into the Latino family system and to what extent culture may exert a role.

Clearly, in other studies, non-kin caregivers were more prominent in Black samples (Lawton et al., 1992) as compared to their Anglo counterparts, which may indicate a greater tendency toward inclusiveness in the caregiving role of individuals outside the primary kin network. This inclusivity may extend

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toward paid homemakers or attendants who may be regarded as part of the family system as well. Future work should focus on comparing different population groups on the inclusivity of social networks to include nonconsanguine members, the type of care provided by these members in contrast to blood kin, the relative importance of each in mediating caregiving stress, and the realms of decision making (legal, financial, ethical) across these two types of kinship networks. Current models of informal support in caregiving are implicitly rooted in Anglo cultural norms and may place too much emphasis on nuclear family, blood ties, and the primary caregiver roles when applied to other cultures.

Coping Attitudes and Behaviors

Once the event is appraised as being stressful, the choice of specific types of coping may also be determined by the individual or group's previous coping experiences. The idea that caregivers differ in their coping attitudes and behaviors is not a new notion, yet few studies focus on the role of ethnicity and culture in explaining possible variations. An important exception is Haley et al. (1996) in which Blacks were found to use both less approach and less avoidance coping than White caregivers, a difference which the authors attributed to the lower appraisal of caregiving as a stressor. Valle and his associates (1993), studied the coping styles of Latino (mostly Mexican American) and Anglo caregivers in San Diego and found that significant differences remained in several categories after controlling for contextual variables such as age, income, and education: Latinos were less prone to talking about their situation or sharing their private feelings; they were less likely to obtain professional help; tended to keep others from knowing how bad things were with regard to their caretaking situation; and relied more on their faith or praying about their problems. Turning to one's religious faith has also been supported in studies of Black caregiver samples (Segall & Wykle, 1988-89; Wood & Parham, 1990).

Cultural definitions of the self may also influence the choice of coping behaviors. Landrine (1992) contrasts the "indexical" meaning of the self that is common among non-Western cultures (including U.S. American ethnic cultural minorities), with the Western "referential" concept of the self. She argues that

> the referential self of Western culture is construed as an autonomous entity . . . presumed to be a free agent . . . to make all sorts of choices and decisions of its own . . . construed as determining the actions — the behaviors — of the body in the world. The self is unconsciously assumed to be morally responsible: The self in Western culture is the final explanation for behavior, and is responsible for behavior. It is taken for granted that the self will claim responsibility for its actions and for the consequences of its actions in the world (p. 404).

Using Landrine's definition, we can expect that the individual with this orientation will more likely rely on coping behaviors geared toward self-fulfillment, self-development, and self-actualization. In this process, Landrine argues, the self seeks to control its environment by changing situations and others to meet one's needs. Failure to take control and further the self is construed as a failure and a sign of helplessness, passivity, low self-efficacy, and poor self-esteem. This has implications for the caregiving role to the degree that *the individual with a* referential self-orientation may perceive the caregiving experience as a threat to his sense of control which then threatens the definition of an independent selfhood.

Conversely, non-Western cultures define the self as embedded in social roles and less likely to view individual control of others and situations as part of his or her coping repertoire. The indexical self of many U.S. ethnic cultural groups is seen as

> . . . constituted by social interaction, contexts, and relationships. . . . Because the indexical self exists only in and through interactions, it cannot be described per se, without reference to specific, concrete encounters with others. Thus, the indexical self has no enduring, trans-situational characteristics, no traits or desires or needs of its own in isolation from its relationships and contexts . . . the person is the role he or she occupies because family and community are prior to individuals. Families and communities — rather than individuals — have goals, desires, and needs. . . . Thus, these social-role-selves do not have rights (to privacy, autonomy, and self-determination), but duties and obligations to perform their role well for the larger units. . . . Role failure or violation is the loss of the self . . . the self tends to be seen as not responsible for behavior (Landrine, 1992, pp. 406–408).

Thus, if the sociocentric self consists of different persons and forces (natural and supernatural), the individual may perceive that he or she has less control over actions and circumstances as determined by fate, God, spirits, and the social group. This self-concept would lead to different role-actualizing responses than the responses that are dictated by a Western notion of an independently existing self. Instead, behaviors toward self-fulfillment and self-actualization take on a new meaning: self-actualizations occur in social contexts or for the good of the group or ancestral family. Thus, Landrine's argument coupled with the previously discussed findings that Latinos may be more sensitive to network crises and disruption, pose certain possibilities: Does caregiving for a frail, functionally dependent older adult directly affect the socially-embedded self, the use of coping attitudes and behaviors, and the evaluation of success or failure in the role of caregiving? Does the absence of need to control situations and people give the caregiver the freedom to continue in the caregiving role by attenuating the pressures of responsibility for those things not under his or her control, and thus, experiencing less self-doubt and sense of failure?

Culture, Socioeconomic Status, and Minority Group Membership: A Cautionary Note

Sorting ethnic and cultural variables from other status variables is problematic given the underclass

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position and minority group status of certain ethnic groups in the U.S. (Valle, 1989). Many differences in stress outcomes among certain cultural groups can be attributed to socioeconomic and minority group status factors. Culture, as defined earlier, refers to a group's way of life as manifested by those elements of the group's history, tradition, values, and social organization that are meaningful to the individual members. For example, U.S. Anglos represent a number of diverse and distinct ethnic origins. Yet, certain non-Anglo groups, because of their shared cultural values and/or physical characteristics, are stigmatized, deemed inferior, and barred from equal access to power in U.S. society; thus they are considered a disadvantaged ethnic minority group (Greene, 1994). Historically, these groups have been identified as Blacks/African Americans, Asian Americans/Pacific Islanders, Latinos/Hispanics, and Native Americans/American Indians. Although disadvantaged minority group status is often intertwined with membership in ethnic groups, it is conceptually distinct as evidenced by the fact that many cultural groups are not presently identified as disadvantaged minority group members although they may have been in the past (groups of Irish, Italians, Eastern Europeans, etc.).

Latinos are considered an ethnic minority group in the U.S., which is partly evidenced by their disadvantaged status in the labor market. According to Bean and Tienda (1987), "most studies of ethnic variation in labor market position acknowledge the importance of ascribed characteristics, such as birthplace, national origin and race in determining the employment opportunities of nonwhite people (p. 282)." One result of ethnic stratification in labor market processes is the over-representation of Latino workers in unskilled and service jobs across the U.S. (Bean & Tienda, 1987). This has implications for Latino caregivers of functionally disabled older adults. For example, occupational role strain, which has been identified as a source of caregiving stress (Pearlin et al., 1990), may be greater among Latino caregiving families who are not covered by employee benefits such as sick leave, dependent leave, compensatory time, or even time off during the day to make phone calls related to the care of the elderly person. Such employee benefits can alleviate some of the cross-pressures of reconciling work and caregiving responsibilities. To illustrate, caregivers employed in the garment industry may get paid on a piecework basis which provides a built-in disincentive to take time off from work. Seasonal migrant workers do not have the physical, on-the-job amenities (e.g., access to telephones) to facilitate dialogue with formal care agencies and services which are frequently inaccessible during evening hours.

On the other hand, culture may have a beneficial impact on well-being, especially for the aged (Simic, 1985). If true for Latino caregivers, this effect may counterbalance in part the stresses of caregiving. For example, although clearly not conclusively settled at this time, the evidence cited in this review suggests that the effects of disadvantaged minority group status are outweighed by other factors for Blacks. To illustrate, in the Lawton et al. study (1992), Black caregivers tended to be less burdened than Whites even though they were disadvantaged economically and educationally, while more advantaged Blacks reported more burden. This finding is reminiscent of Burnam's data indicating that higher levels of acculturation for Latinos are associated with higher six-month and lifetime prevalence rates of mental disorder. Also, U.S.-born Mexican Americans, who tended to have high levels of acculturation, experienced higher lifetime psychiatric prevalence rates than their immigrant counterparts (Burnam, Hough, Karno, Escobar, & Telles, 1987).

The effects of discrimination and oppression could also have far-reaching implications for the development of certain coping expectancies. For example, the choice of specific types of coping may also be determined by the individual or group's previous coping experiences. For U.S.-based ethnic minorities, the socio-historical-political realities may influence the coping strategies developed over time, such as perceived fatalism as an adaptive response to the severe stress faced by disadvantaged minorities and as enhancing self-efficacy in effecting positive outcomes (Varghese & Medinger, 1979). Varghese and Medinger propose that fatalism, or a generalized expectancy for external control of reinforcement in the form of fate, chance, or other forces outside the individual's control, may protect a person "from the severe depression and anxiety that would ensue were he or she to assume complete personal responsibility for the stressful, poverty-related circumstances present in his/her life (p. 96)." Thus, perceived fatalism over threatening circumstances may be functional given the socially imposed gaps in resources that exist for the Latino caregiver to counter these circumstances.

Further research is needed to analyze the confounding effects of ethnicity and culture, socioeconomic class, and minority group status and to clarify the relative contributions of each to be tested in predicting well-being among Latino caregiver groups. Key hypotheses can address how ethnicity and culture are likely to a) influence the differential risk for specific disorders and disability, b) affect the appraisal of illness and problem behaviors, c) influence coping attitudes and behaviors, d) set expectations regarding social support and filial care, and e) provide larger social networks of both kin and non-kin helpers. On the other hand, to the extent that caregiving Latinos are disadvantaged socioeconomically and subordinated within the larger society, caregiving is predicted to be complicated by lower income and education, restricted access to health care and employment benefits, and by institution-based exclusions from long-term care programs and services.

Summary: Ethnicity, Stress, and Coping

In summary, the stress and coping model has provided a framework for reviewing literature related to

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caregiving in the Latino population. This literature suggests that Latino caregivers are as distressed as are Anglo caregivers. In part, the sources and types of incapacity may be different since Latinos suffer from different chronic medical diseases. Rates of functional dependency are higher for Latinos as well. We have also seen that ethnicity and culture can influence whether cognitive impairment or physical impairment is perceived as being stressful between Blacks and Whites. It is hypothesized that caregiving may be compared to a different life event anchor point and evaluated differently by Latinos, specifically as it impacts on the social network. As a corollary, appraisal of stress in the Latino population may depend on the degree of disruption to the family rather than on the interference with the individual's perceived control over life circumstances. Latino social networks are likely to be larger, composed of more multigenerational households, extended family, and non-kin "family," including personal care workers. We hypothesize that these larger networks also lead to greater exposure to other stressors with the likelihood of receiving support from the network over time being unclear at this time. Another hypothesis is that social support from family may function differently from that among Anglos with the family members/systems acting as caregivers and experiencing distress. We would also hypothesize that coping behaviors differ, with less emphasis on control and greater emotional regulation, although more evidence on specific differences is needed.

Empirical examination of the determinants of caregiver reactions and coping among ethnic minority groups is clearly in its infancy stage. Illustrations of caregiving by Latino families to older adults provide provocative areas of inquiry into potential sources of variation in the caregiving experience of other U.S. ethnic groups. As noted throughout this article, many conceptual and methodological issues remain. Future research must also focus on improvements in sampling, research design, and standardization of major study variables.

As service programs begin to address the growing ethnic and cultural diversity of this country (Aranda, 1990), there is a pressing need for cross-cultural research on caregiving to examine possible ethnic and cultural differences in terms of the illnesses which cause frailty and disability, the appraisal of stressors, and the use of specific coping behaviors and social support systems in moderating the impact of stressors. Such research is likely to show that ethnic and cultural differences affect many aspects of caregiving. Education, policy, and service delivery must address these differences using sound empirical research so that policies and programs are based on actual differences rather than assumptions, stereotypes, or the inappropriate generalizations of existing paradigms to other culturally distinct groups.

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Appendix

Note 1. The term "Latino" is used here as an ethnic group label for several groups which share various commonalties such as Latin American origin, indigenous group ancestry, the Spanish language, religious and cultural values, etc. It is apparent that although many similarities exist, to some degree such a term sacrifices the individual identities of each Latino ethnic group comprised of their respective national and sociopolitical history, immigration patterns, class structure, regional differences, customs and traditions, and the like.

Note 2. Macho, as used in this sterotypical context, is the Spanish-language term given to patriarchal and male dominance in relationships and decision making. The original use of the word reflected a more positive view of male roles as encompassing honor, respect, and self-sacrifice for family members and others. The material for the vignette in which this term was used was taken from anecdotal accounts provided from the first author's clinical social work practice in the Los Angeles area.

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MODULE VI

CASE STUDY: SOUTH KOREA

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

WORD PROCESS YOUR ANSWERS TO THE FOLLOWING DISCUSSION QUESTIONS. ANSWER EACH QUESTION IN AN ESSAY FORMAT.

1. In Western cultures, what factors influencing caregiver burden have been identified.

2. Review the Methods section of the article. Describe how the study sample was collected, the major demographic characteristics, and the 5 major variables of caregiver burden measured.

3. Describe and analyze the results of this research.

Discuss the cultural and noncultural factors influencing the perception of caregiver burden for the impaired elderly in South Korea.

4. Review the Discussion section of the article. What are the implications of this studies findings for future public policy and program development to meet the long-term care needs of the elderly in South Korea.

MODULE VI

CASE STUDY: SOUTH KOREA

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This study investigated the determining variables of caregiver burden in caring for impaired older relatives in South Korea. Economic factors, daily caregiving hours, and caregiver's health status emerged as the most important determinants of caregiver burden in Korea. Though not a powerful predictor, caregivers' congruency with the traditional caregiver selection norms remained a statistically significant predictor of certain dimensions of caregiver burden.

Key Words: Cultural norms, Economic factors, Caregiver involvement, Family caregivers

Cultural and Noncultural Factors as Determinants of Caregiver Burden for the Impaired Elderly in South Korea[1]

Haekyung Choi, PhD[2]

Earlier research findings on caregiver burden indicate that the level of caregiver burden tends to vary with factors such as sociodemographic and health characteristics of the impaired elder and caregiver, degree of caregiver's involvement, caregiver's attitude toward caregiving, and informal and formal resources available to caregiver (Baillie et al., 1988; Bass, Tausig, & Noelker, 1988/1989; Cantor, 1983; Caro & Blank, 1984; Caserta et al., 1987; Deimling & Bass, 1986; Deimling et al., 1989; Fadden, Bebbington, & Kuipers, 1987; Fitting et al., 1986; Hooyman, Gonyea, & Montgomery, 1985; Lawton, Brody, & Saperstein, 1989; Miller, 1990; Miller, McFall, & Montgomery, 1991; Morycz, 1985; Poulshock & Deimling, 1984; Pratt, Schmall, & Wright, 1986; Scharlach & Frenzel, 1986; Scott, Roberto, & Hutton, 1986; Sheehan & Nuttal, 1988; Silliman & Sternberg, 1988; Stommel et al., 1990; Young & Kahana, 1989; Zarit, Todd, & Zarit, 1986).

These studies have identified the factors influencing caregiver burden within the context of Western culture where individualism, independence, and the primacy of conjugalism over patrilinealism may be construed as social norms and respected values that may directly or indirectly influence the perception of caregiver burden. However, whether the findings of these studies hold across different cultures is largely unknown. Thus, if the amount of caregiving and perception of the caregiving role are influenced by cultural factors, such as traditional expectations toward caregiving and caregiver selection, the studies done in the United States, for example, would not be relevant to a country like South Korea, which has a considerably different cultural value system. Nevertheless, there has been little empirical evidence to support or refute cultural factors as a major determinant of the level of caregiver burden.

Given these considerations, the purpose of this study was to assess the influence of cultural factors, as well as noncultural factors, on family caregiver burden for the impaired elderly in South Korea. In order to examine the relevance or irrelevance of the American study findings to the Korean family caregiver, part of this study's conceptual framework, especially the noncultural factors, was derived from some of the major U.S. studies.

Conceptual Framework

Pearlin and colleagues (1990) suggest that social and economic characteristics of the caregiver are likely to specify the caregiving environment and subsequently affect a variety of aspects of the caregiver's life. Given the greater amount of resources available to the caregiver of higher socioeconomic status, lower socioeconomic status was expected to be a predictor of greater caregiver burden in this study. Theoretically, it is possible to purchase a wide range of services to care for the elderly if the caregiver has sufficient income to do so. However, according to Antonucci (1985) and Montgomery, Gonyea, and Hooyman (1985), higher socioeconomic status is a significant predictor of higher, not lower, caregiver burden in the U.S. Specifically, in Korea, where there is little government-funded public support for impaired elders and their caregivers, the caregiver's socioeconomic status may affect caregiver burden differently compared with other countries whose governments assume much greater financial and/or social support responsibilities for the care of impaired elders. Caregiver's health condition is also

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assumed to be a predictor of variation in caregiver burden because caring for an impaired elderly person requires a substantial amount of physical strength. Pratt and colleagues (1985) reported that burden scores were significantly related to caregiver's health status. The elder's socioeconomic characteristics also specify the caregiving situation and may affect caregiver burden. According to Krulik and Hirschfeld (1985), the fewer the elder's resources, the more continued care of the elder is thought of as a duty or a no-alternative option by the caregiver. They further suggest that the elder's resources, rather than the caregiver's own resources, are perceived as more valuable by the caregivers, as reflected in the lower caregiver burden.

Research has recently begun to consider the effect of cultural variations in social norms and value systems as possible explanations for the differences in caregiving behavior and caregiver selection. For instance, as Hirschfeld (1983) points out, the burden of cultural expectations regarding parental caregiving in the Western countries tends to fall on the middle-aged daughter. In contrast, in Japan and Korea, the tradition that the eldest son and his wife take care of the aged parents still dominates caregiver selection practice, even though the legal stipulation that the eldest son should care for his aging parents has been abandoned (Maeda, 1981; Cho, 1990). The point is that if certain cultural norms and societal expectations are assumed to influence family roles and responses to the care of the dependent elderly, the cultural context of caregiving must be treated as a domain of the caregiving process.

South Korea has preserved the long-standing tradition of respecting and caring for its elderly. Because of the patriarchal duty of filial piety, the daughter-in-law, particularly the first daughter-in-law, has been socially expected to be the caregiver for old parents-in-law (Lee, 1982). Therefore, the existence of male children has been made into an absolute necessity, in connection with the cultural norms of the responsibility of the first son to support his parents in their old age (Lee, 1973; Sorensen, 1986). Another notable cultural characteristic in Korea is that men are culturally expected to work outside the home while women are relegated to the domestic labor as homemakers (Andrews et al., 1986; Lee, 1990; Lee, 1982; Sorensen, 1986). The culturally defined gender role is still strong in the country. Given this culturally defined gender role, a husband caring for his chronically impaired elderly wife is unusual.

Korea's long history of traditional norms regarding who should care for an impaired elder is likely to influence its caregiver selection practice. Given Korea's traditional gender roles and norms of primogeniture (Kim, Kim, & Hurh, 1990; Lee, 1982; Lee, 1990; Sorensen, 1986), if the elder is female (regardless of her marital status), the first daughter-in-law is expected to be the primary caregiver. If the elder is male and a widower, caregiving by the first daughter-in-law is also expected. If the elder is male and married, however, his wife is expected to be the primary caregiver, especially for personal care. In addition to the caregiver's congruency with the cultural expectations, the caregiver's attitude toward the culturally sanctioned caregiver selection practice deserves special attention in order to reflect the emerging divergence in people's viewpoints on the virtue or appropriateness of such cultural norms in the rapidly changing contemporary Korean society. To illustrate, even if the relationship of a caregiver to the care-recipient elder is congruent with culturally sanctioned caregiver selection, the caregiver may perceive caregiving as very burdensome if she is in disagreement with such cultural expectations.

Earlier studies consistently assume that the severity of the elder's impairment affects caregiver burden (Barusch & Spaid, 1989; Bass, Tausig, & Noelker, 1988/1989; Poulshock & Deimling, 1984; Zarit, Todd, & Zarit, 1986). The severity of impairment as a potential stressor is assessed based on functional dependency and cognitive incapacity, which influence the caregiver through their effects on demands for the provision of care. Caregiver burden is also expected to be closely associated with the actual level of caregiver involvement (Barber, 1988). Thus, the longer the hours of daily caregiving, the greater amount of caregiver burden may be experienced. One explanation is that as the amount of caregiving provided by a caregiver increases, the caregiver is more likely to experience conflicts with other roles or experience a loss of personal time. In addition to the amount of caregiving, financial responsibility borne by the caregiving family is also considered to be a predictor of caregiver burden (Stommel et al., 1990).

Social support is assumed to regulate the effects of potential stressors or to lessen the intensity of the stressors. Social support usually consists of instrumental and socioemotional supports. Bass, Tausig, and Noelker (1988/1989) examined a conceptual framework for understanding the hypothesis of social support's moderating-buffering effect, in which the effect of the elder's impairment on caregiver strain is inversely related to the amount of social support the caregiver receives. According to Hörl (1989), rewards in return for caregiving — for example, care recipient's gratitude, financial compensation, or improvement of the relationship with care recipient — are also assumed to be a mediator regulating caregiving effects.

Finally, caregiver burden has been conceptually defined as multiple costs resulting from shouldering the caregiving role, including perceived impacts of caregiving on the caregiver's life and emotional reactions to the caregiving process. Therefore, incorporating the multiple costs identified in earlier studies, this study adopts a dimension-specific approach to measure and analyze caregiver burden.

Methods

Sample

The sample consisted of 169 primary family caregivers to noninstitutionalized elderly Koreans with functional and/or cognitive impairment.

In Korea, there is no single organization or governmental agency designed to provide services either for impaired elders or family caregivers. Nor are there directories or governmental records that provide a comprehensive listing of the names of those who are family caregivers assuming long-term care responsibility. This posed a significant limitation on the range of sampling choice. Moreover, given the purpose of this study — to investigate the factors influencing the level of caregiver burden, rather than to convey the representative picture of family long-term care in South Korea — random sampling, even if feasible, might not have been the best sampling strategy.

It must be emphasized that for the purpose of the study, there was no one single best site that permitted a good representative sampling of family caregivers. For example, hospital samples would include only those family caregivers with elders who are impaired seriously enough to require medical attention, leading to a small variation in severity of impairment, which was an important independent variable in the study. Given those considerations, this study drew a sample of family caregivers at three sites of different organizations in Seoul, South Korea, namely, hospitals, nursing-aide agencies, and multipurpose social service centers. This sampling approach enhanced the variability in major study variables, which was essential for the purpose of the study.

The study employed a two-stage sampling procedure. The first stage was to select the hospitals, nursing-aide agencies, and multipurpose social service centers to be included in the study sample sites. Using the directory of hospitals, 10 university hospitals with a department of neurosurgery and/or neurology were randomly selected. Due to the small number of nursing-aide agencies that retained information on their clientele (only four such agencies in Seoul), they were all included in the first stage of sampling. Also included were two Centers for Multipurpose Social Welfare Services for the Aged and four general Multipurpose Social Welfare Centers that offered various services to the needy elderly. Six of the ten hospitals, all of the four nursing-aide agencies, the two centers for multipurpose social welfare services for the aged, and three of the four general multipurpose social welfare service centers agreed to participate in the study.

The investigator then compiled a list of 278 elders from the hospital sites, 77 from the nursing-aide agencies, 245 from the centers for the aged, and 67 from the general multipurpose social welfare center sites. Thus, the study's final sampling frame from which caregivers were selected consisted of 667 functionally or cognitively impaired elders. Using the sample frame described above, the second sampling procedure involved a random selection of 200 functionally or cognitively impaired elders. In all, 169 caregivers participated in the study. The overall response rate was 84.5%.

The overall average age of caregivers was 51.83 (*SD* = 15.76) and the range was 16–82. Women (87.6%) dominated the family caregiving role. Looking at the relationships of the caregiver to the care recipient, approximately one-third of the caregivers were wives of the impaired elder. The first daughter-in-law made up 23.7%, married daughter 14.8%, husband 10.1%, all other daughters-in-law 9.5%, and others (unmarried daughter or son, sibling, grandchild) 8.9%. The overwhelming majority of the caregivers in this study (89.3%) were married, 7.1% were never married, 3.0% were widowed, and 0.6% (only one caregiver) were divorced. Furthermore, less than one-third, or 28.4%, of the caregivers had part-time or full-time jobs outside the home. The caregivers' family monthly incomes, excluding the elder's income, showed a good approximation of the overall income distribution in South Korea. They ranged from no income to a high of 4 million *won* in Korean currency (U.S. $5,634), with an average of 820,909 *won* (U.S. $1,156). About 36% of the caregivers had monthly family incomes of less than 400,000 *won* (U.S. $563), but 34% had incomes of more than 1 million *won* (U.S $1,408). The educational levels of most caregivers were relatively low. More than half of the caregivers (52.1%) finished sixth grade or less, 24% indicated high school graduate as their highest level of formal education, and only 13% were 4-year college graduates. Most caregivers in the study (88.2%) lived with their care recipient elders.

The care recipient elders' ages ranged from 60 to 86 and averaged 66 years old (*SD* = 6.76). Fifty-six percent of the elders were female, 52% were married, and 47% were widowed. Only 28% of the impaired elders had regular income and/or assets. Nearly all of the elders (98.8%) had some limitation with at least one daily functional activity. The overall mean score of the elder's functional impairment was 6.1 (*SD* = 5.78), the highest possible score being 18. One-third of the care recipients required constant supervision. Fifty-seven percent of the care recipients were completely cognitively intact, and the overall mean score of cognitive impairment was a very low 2.6 (*SD* = 4.28), given the highest possible score of 14.

Data Collection Method

The major data collection method was through telephone interview with primary caregivers, using a structured questionnaire. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with 10 caregivers who were without a telephone. All interviews were conducted by the investigator during the period between July 1990 and September 1990. In order to attain a high response rate, the study participants were offered a token payment (5,000 *won* in Korean currency; U.S. $7) for their participation.

Measurement of Major Variables

Caregiver burden was measured by a 31-item scale developed by Stommel et al. (1990), assessing five dimensions of caregiver burden: (1) perceived impact on finances; (2) feelings of abandonment; (3) perceived impact on schedule; (4) perceived impact on health; and (5) sense of entrapment. Each item was rated on a 4-point scale. However, the result of factor analysis showed that some items in the burden scale were highly correlated with various factors that were incongruous with the factors identified in the U.S. For this reason, measurement of each dimension of caregiver burden was modified in order to increase the relevance and appropriateness of the scale to the study's Korean caregivers. Only those items with loadings equal to or larger than .70 in both Varimax and Oblimin rotated factor analysis were included in the modified caregiver burden scale. As a result, 20 of the 31 original items were kept in the modified scale, and 11 were eliminated (Choi, 1991). Dimension-specific burden score was the sum of all the responses to the 4-point scale items of specific dimension. Thus, the score of perceived impact on finances (3 items) ranged from 3 to 12, feelings of abandonment (3 items) from 3 to 12, perceived impact on schedule (5 items) from 5 to 20, perceived impact on health (2 items) from 2 to 8, and sense of entrapment (7 items) from 7 to 28. As indicated earlier, the higher the score, the greater the caregiver burden. The Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficients for the five dimensions of the modified scale were .90 for perceived impact on finances, .91 for feelings of abandonment, .94 for perceived impact on schedule, .97 for perceived impact on health, and .94 for sense of entrapment.

The caregiver's economic status was measured by a single item, the size of the family income excluding that of the care recipient elder. The caregiver's overall health condition was measured as an ordinal variable containing five response categories, ranging from very good to very poor. Care recipient's financial status was measured by whether the care recipient had regular income and/or assets.

Whether the relationship of the caregiver to the impaired elder was congruent with traditional cultural norms regarding caregiver selection practice was assessed by a priori criteria based on the literature on Korean culture (Kim, Kim, & Hurh, 1990; Lee, 1982; Lee, 1990; Sorensen, 1986). When the impaired elder was a female or a widower, the first daughter-in-law was regarded as appropriate, and when the elder was a married male, his wife was regarded as the appropriate caregiver, in accordance with the traditional cultural norms; any other relationships were regarded as relatively inconsistent with the norms.

In addition, the degree of the caregiver's acceptance of the cultural norms regarding caregiver selection was introduced as a control variable to examine how it affected the correlation between the caregiver's congruency with the norms of caregiver selection and the level of caregiver burden. The degree of caregiver's acceptance of the caregiver selection norms was measured by a 6-item index developed by the investigator. Each item was rated on a 4-point scale. For example, the caregivers were asked to strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with statements like "When a frail elderly parent has more than one married son, it is the eldest son and his wife's responsibility to care for her/him" and "A married woman should give a top priority to the care of her parent(s)-in-law rather than to her own parent(s), when they are equally in need of care." The index scores ranged from 6, the lowest degree of acceptance, to 24, the highest degree of acceptance. The Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient of the index measuring caregiver's acceptance of cultural norms was .89.

The elder's impairment was measured by two sets of indicators, assessing two types of impairment, namely, functional and cognitive. The elder's functional impairment was assessed by a 9-item scale developed by the investigator measuring the degree to which he or she was dependent in any of nine daily activities (walking, transfer, bathing, dressing, eating, toileting, incontinence, traveling out of walking distance, and administering medications). Each item was rated on a 3-point scale. An overall functional impairment score was computed by summing the scores across all activity areas. The possible score ranged from 0 to 18, with a higher score indicating the elder's greater functional dependency. The reliability coefficient of the elder's functional impairment scale was .94. The elder's cognitive impairment was measured by a 7-item index developed by Given and Given (1989), assessing how frequently the elder displayed behaviors related to confusion and memory loss. Each item was rated on a 3-point scale. An overall cognitive impairment score was computed by summing the frequency score across all the behaviors the elder displayed. Thus, the index ranged from 0 to 14; the higher the score, the greater the cognitive impairment of the elder. The reliability coefficient of the cognitive deficit index was .95.

To measure the amount of care provided by the caregiver in terms of personal and financial assistance, information was gathered on daily hours of caregiving and the caregiver's perception of the family's financial responsibility for the care. The perceived degree of financial responsibility borne by the family members was assessed by a single item, which was rated on a 5-point scale: 0 = none, 1 = a little, 2 = a fair amount, 3 = much, 4 = very much.

Specific measures of social support constructs were employed in this study to assess the different types of social support, which can be broadly classified into two types, namely, instrumental and socioemotional. To measure the extent of instrumental support available or rendered to the caregiver, data was collected on the availabilities of informal help with personal care, informal financial assistance, paid help, and formal social services. Socioemotional support was measured by a 15-item inventory, Provision of Social Relations (PSR), developed by Turner, Frankel, and Levin (1983). Each item was rated on a 3-point scale. Based on the result of factor analysis, the inventory of socioemotional support was also modified. Only those items with loadings equal to or larger than .70 in both Varimax and Oblimin rotated factor analysis were selected and included in the modified scale, which resulted in the elimination of 3 items in the original inventory. The reliability coefficient of the modified scale was .93.

An overall socioemotional support score was computed by summing across all the 12 items and it ranged from 0 to 24 with a higher score indicating greater socioemotional support.

To assess the caregiver's perceived reward in return for caregiving, different types of reward were measured separately. They were: (1) the frequency of the elder's expression of gratitude; (2) whether or not the elder provided financial compensation; (3) change in the quality of mutual relationship; and (4) the frequency of social acknowledgement. The frequency of the elder's expression of gratitude and social acknowledgement were rated on a 5-point scale: 1 = almost never, 2 = once in a while, 3 = sometimes, 4 = frequently, and 5 = almost always. Change in the quality of mutual relationship was assessed in the following categories: 1 = very much worsened, 2 = somewhat worsened, 3 = remained the same, 4 = somewhat improved, and 5 = very much improved.

In addition to the major variables mentioned above, a number of other variables were included in analysis to examine the patterns of family caregiving practices, characteristics of caregiver and care recipient, and their correlations with caregiver burden.

Results

Table 1 shows the effects on the five dimensions of caregiver burden of caregiver's congruency with the cultural caregiver selection norms, controlling for the four major stressor variables and the caregiver's acceptance of the caregiver selection norms. The four major stressor variables were severity of functional impairment, severity of cognitive impairment, average daily hours spent on caregiving, and caregiver's family financial responsibility for the care of the elder. As indicated by significance *F* levels, the caregiver's congruency with the cultural norms appeared to be a statistically significant predictor of two dimensions of caregiver burden — feelings of abandonment ($r_p = .23$; $p < .01$) and sense of entrapment ($r_p = .14$, $p < .1$) — after controlling for the influence of the stressor variables and the degree of caregiver's acceptance of the cultural norms. These findings imply that the caregivers who were congruent with the cultural norms of caregiver selection were less likely to feel abandoned and a sense of entrapment. However, their low partial correlation coefficient values suggest that the relationships remained relatively weak at constant levels of the control variables.

Table 2 presents the results of multiple regression analyses to assess the predictability of 18 major predictor variables for each dimension of caregiver burden. As indicated by the coefficients of determination (R^2 values), variation in the 18 predictor variables explained 46% of the variance in impact on finances, 57% in feelings of abandonment, 71% in impact on schedule, 52% in impact on health, and 54% in sense of entrapment. It must be pointed out that different sets of predictor variables contributed to explaining variations in different dimensions of caregiver burden, and some variables were significant predictors for more than one dimension. This is shown in Table 2, which depicts the standardized regression coefficient (beta weight) of each predictor variable and its statistical significance, indicating which particular predictor variables were significantly related to each dimension of caregiver burden when all other predictor variables were controlled.

Focusing only on the statistically significant predictor variables, the caregiver's family income (Beta = −.61, $p < .001$), financial responsibility borne by family members (Beta = .33, $p < .001$), caregiver's health condition (Beta = .20, $p < .05$), availability of informal financial assistance (Beta = .19, $p < .05$), and financial compensation by the care recipient (Beta = .14, $p < .1$) were the most important predictor variables for the impact on the financial dimension of caregiver burden.

For feelings of abandonment, the 18 variables' overall predictability was largely attributed to financial responsibility borne by family members (Beta = .32, $p < .001$), availability of socioemotional support (Beta = −.28, $p < .01$), family income and extent of social acknowledgment (for both, Beta = −.24, $p < .01$), informal financial assistance (Beta = .21, $p < .05$), elder's expression of gratitude (Beta = −.20,

Table 1. The Effect of Caregiver's Congruency with Korean Cultural Norms on Five Dimensions of Caregiver Burden (r_p) When Controlling Stressors and Caregiver's Attitude

Predictor variables	Financial responsibility	Feelings of abandonment	Impact on schedule	Impact on health	Sense of entrapment
Elder's impairment and caregiver involvement					
Functional impairment	−.06	.04	.28****	.04	.26****
Cognitive impairment	−.00	−.01	−.00	.14*	.10
Daily caregiving hours	.11	−.01	.67****	.18**	.09
Financial responsibility	.01	−.07	−.04	−.19**	.06
Degree of caregiver's acceptance of cultural norms	.19**	.08	.16**	.20***	.10
Caregiver's congruency with cultural norms	.08	.23***	−.06	−.10	.14*

Note. Financial responsibility was coded: none = 0, a little = 1, a fair amount = 2, much = 3, very much = 4; caregiver's congruency with cultural norms was coded: congruent = 0, incongruous = 1.

*$p < .1$; **$p < .05$; ***$p < .01$; ****$p < .001$.

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Table 2. Standardized Regression Coefficients and Statistical Significances of 18 Predictor Variables by Five Dimensions of Caregiver Burden

Predictor variables	Financial responsibility	Feelings of abandonment	Impact on schedule	Impact on health	Sense of entrapment
Family income	−.61****	−.24***	−.06	−.12	−.02
Caregiver's health	.20**	−.06	.05	.63****	.00
Elder's financial status	−.04	.17**	−.12**	−.02	.05
Caregiver's acceptance of cultural norms	−.00	−.04	.14**	.07	.08
Caregiver's congruency with cultural norms	−.00	.08	.06	.08	.19**
Functional impairment	.17*	.03	.08	.00	.07
Cognitive impairment	.07	.14*	.02	.11	.11
Daily caregiving hours	−.03	.10	.72****	.19**	.23***
Financial responsibility	.33****	.32****	.00	.10	.23***
Informal help with personal care	.10	.09	−.02	.05	−.17**
Informal financial assistance	.19**	.21**	.04	−.02	.14
Paid help	.05	−.12	.09	−.20***	.00
Formal social services	−.07	.10	.23***	−.02	.15*
Socioemotional support	−.03	−.28***	.04	−.12	−.19**
Elder's expression of gratitude	.02	−.20**	−.01	−.02	−.04
Financial compensation	.14*	.04	.08	.07	.09
Quality of mutual relationship	.03	.05	−.01	−.11	−.42****
Social acknowledgement	.05	−.24***	−.08	−.06	−.15*
Total R^2	.46	.57	.71	.52	.54

Note. Variables were coded as follows: Caregiver's health condition — very good = 1, good = 2, fair = 3, poor = 4, very poor = 5; Elder's financial status — has regular income/assets = 0, has no regular income/assets or public assistance = 1; Financial responsibility — none = 0, a little = 1, a fair amount = 2, much = 3, very much = 4; Informal help with personal care — yes = 0, no = 1; Informal financial assistance — yes = 0, no = 1; Paid help — yes = 0, no = 1; Formal social services — yes = 0, no = 1; Financial compensation — yes = 0, no = 1; Caregiver's congruency with cultural norms — congruent = 0, incongruous = 1.

$^{*}p < .1$; $^{**}p < .05$; $^{***}p < .01$; $^{****}p < .001$.

$p < .05$), elder's financial status (Beta = .17, $p < .05$), and severity of cognitive impairment (Beta = .14, $p < .1$).

For impact on schedule, the most important predictors were the number of daily caregiving hours (Beta = .72, $p < .001$), utilization of formal social services (Beta = .23, $p < .001$), degree of caregiver's acceptance of cultural norms (Beta = .14, $p < .05$), and the elder's financial status (Beta = −.12, $p < .05$). Impact on the caregiver's health, another dimension of burden, was most significantly associated with the caregiver's health (Beta = .63, $p < .001$), utilization of paid help (Beta = −.20, $p < .01$), and daily caregiving hours (Beta = .19, $p < .05$).

Finally, for the sense of entrapment dimension of caregiver burden, eight variables were found to be statistically significant predictors: quality of mutual relationship (Beta = −.42, $p < .001$), daily caregiving hours and caregiver family's financial responsibility (Beta = .23, $p < .01$ for both variables), caregiver's congruency with cultural norms of caregiver selection (Beta = .19, $p < .05$), availability of informal help with personal care (Beta = −.17, $p < .05$), utilization of formal social services (Beta = .15, $p < .1$), and extent of social acknowledgement (Beta = −.15, $p < .1$).

It is notable that two predictor variables of relevance to cultural norms — congruency of the caregiver's relationship to the elder with cultural norms of caregiver selection and the degree of the caregiver's acceptance of the norms — failed to explain much of the variation in caregiver burden. The former variable resulted in beta weights less than .10 for all dimensions of caregiver burden except for sense of entrapment (Beta = .19, $p < .05$). For the latter, the highest beta weight was .14 ($p < .05$) for impact on schedule.

Discussion

The study's findings reveal that cultural factors associated with the traditional caregiver selection norms were not as powerful predictors of caregiver burden as was expected. Nevertheless, the two cultural factors — caregivers' congruency with the traditional norms and their acceptance of the norms — remained statistically significant predictors of certain dimensions of caregiver burden. The findings also suggest that noncultural factors — especially financial factors, including family income and family financial responsibility, daily caregiving hours, and the caregiver's health status — outweigh cultural factors as the most important determinants of caregiver burden in South Korea. Considering the lack of government-funded financial and social services available for the elderly population in the country, it is not surprising that the financial backgrounds of both the caregivers and the care-recipient elders were found to be the most important predictor variables for some dimensions of caregiver burden.

Based on the findings of this study, what are the implications for future public policy and program development for meeting the long-term care needs of the elderly in South Korea? For one thing, the government's continual reliance on the family to assume full responsibility for the care of the elderly will ultimately be ineffective if it continues to be unresponsive to the changing needs and concerns of

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the elderly and their family caregivers. The traditional values and norms regarding caregiver selection are in transition and, as indicated in the findings, finance-related factors are very important determinants of caregiver burden in contemporary Korean society. This suggests that in the absence of government financial and social service support of impaired elders and their caregiving families, it will be difficult in the future to maintain the current level of family caregiving. The government's reluctance to recognize and respond to the changing family structures and traditional values and attitudes is most likely to exacerbate the growing problems associated with unmet financial and social service needs of the elderly, especially the impaired elderly and their caregiving families. Therefore, there is an urgent need for public policy and programs that provide financial and social service support for the elderly and their family caregivers.

Such support may include in-home services, adult day care centers, community nursing, laundry and diaper services, and residential services for bedridden elderly. In developing such policy and programs, special attention must be focused on the financially needy elderly and/or family caregivers, within the consideration of government budget constraints. Development of long-term care policy and programs that promote and emphasize family caregiving will be more cost-effective than institutional care and will also allow the preservation of family caregiving. At the same time, there is a pressing need to expand the existing pension and health care systems to provide adequate income and health care services to the elderly in need. It must be pointed out that the current government's policy of public assistance programs, which limits eligibility to only the poor elderly with no children, has the consequence of victimizing those needy elderly parents who do not receive financial support from their children. Such a policy is irresponsible and unresponsive to the needs of those elderly whose children are either absent or financially incapable of providing support.

In addition, it seems appropriate within the context of the changing family structures and social attitudes to develop public educational programs for both the general public and the elderly themselves that address the growing needs and importance of financially independent living as an alternative to the current full dependence on their families. It has been a tradition for Korean parents at retirement to pass most of their property and assets to their children, particularly to the eldest son. The adult son, especially the eldest, in return, is obligated to provide caregiving assistance to his parents. This tradition, however, is no longer predominant and is breaking down in contemporary Korean society. As a result, there need to be changes on the part of the elderly in managing their resources and planning for their retirement to facilitate financially independent living instead of full dependence on family members for future care.

One important finding of this study also deserves consideration for program development implications. That is, noninstrumental social support and reward for caregiving, such as availability of socio-emotional support, social acknowledgment, good mutual relationship between caregiver and care recipient, and the elder's expression of gratitude, are significant predictors of lessening the feelings of abandonment and entrapment. This clearly implies that, without rendering financial or instrumental assistance, the caregivers' family members, relatives, friends, and, most importantly, the care recipients themselves can still influence the caregivers' perception of their caregiving either as burdensome or as a rewarding life experience. Therefore, it must be known to the elderly, especially those who tend to take their caregivers' caregiving effort for granted, that establishing a good relationship and expressing gratitude to their caregivers can make a significant difference in reducing the caregivers' feeling of burden. It must also be known to the caregiver's family members and their significant others that emotional support and acknowledgment of caregiving efforts can make a significant contribution to easing the caregivers' frustration and perceived burden. This calls for the development of educational and support programs for caregivers, the elderly, and their family members, such as self-help and professional counseling programs, that aim to improve mutual understanding, coping and communication skills, positive self-evaluation, and informal support networking.

Finally, it is important to point out the study's major contribution as well as limitations in order to make useful suggestions for future research. This study has been the first comprehensive empirical research on family caregivers for the impaired elderly in Korea. It was also the first effort to test the explanatory models of caregiver burden developed in the United States within the context of Korean culture.

However, this study has some limitations in generalizing its findings. One limitation of the study is that its operational definition of cultural norms was narrowly focused on caregiver selection practice. One can argue, therefore, that if the study had examined the cultural norms in a much broader perspective, including the caregiver's attitudes toward the traditional status and roles of the elderly in the society as well as in the family, the findings related to the influence of cultural factors on family caregiving practice and caregiver's perceived burden would have been different. Given that the study was conducted in Seoul, the most urbanized, industrialized, Westernized city in Korea, whether and to what extent the cultural values and norms would have had different impacts on caregiver burden had caregivers in rural areas been included in the study is also unknown and remains to be addressed in future research. In addition, the study failed to examine the effects of different family structures on caregiver burden. For example, possible family structural reasons for culturally atypical family caregivers and their caregiving practices, such as "no son in the family," "son still unmarried, thus no daugher-in-law to care for his impaired parent," and "first daughter-in-law too busy to provide care," were not explored by the present study, although they could have offered useful insights for explaining caregiver burden.

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COMISION PARA INTERCAMBIO EDUCATIVO
COLOMBIA - ESTADOS UNIDOS

COMISION FULBRIGHT

CURRICULUM/INDEPENDENT PROJECTS

SUBMITTED TO THE

EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

(Two Volumes)

1997 FULBRIGHT-HAYS SEMINAR ABROAD PROGRAM

CARRIED OUT IN COLOMBIA (SOUTH AMERICA)

**

Seminar Title:

**"COLOMBIA, MANY COUNTRIES IN ONE:
ECONOMIC GROWTH, ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY,
SOCIOCULTURAL DIVERGENCE AND BIODIVERSITY.
PROFILE AND PARADOX"**

(June 6 - August 3, 1997)

- VOLUME II -

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

FULBRIGHT

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TELEFONOS 287 78 31 - 232 43 26 - 287 1643 - FAX 287 3520
DIRECCION TELEGRAFICA - FULCOLOMBIA - SANTAFE DE BOGOTA

SEMINAR OVERVIEW

Seminar Title:
"Colombia, Many Countries in One: Economic Growth, Environmental Sustainability, Sociocultural Divergence and Biodiversity: Profile and Paradox."

Dates:
July 6 to August 3, 1997

Academic Coordinator:
Henry Hanssen, Ph.D.

Seminar Description:
The seminar will focus on the environmental challenge posed by the country's biodiversity, which is among the richest in the world. It will address the relationship between the last decade of Colombian economic development and the country's sociocultural situation, taking into account its historical background and the role of natural resources in a context of sustainable development.

The seminar will include an objective analysis of the state of the art concerning the country's sociocultural and sociopolitical situation. Health conditions, education, living style, economy, geographical ecology and environmental aspects of Colombia's wealth will be discussed in the academic portion of the seminar, along with the historical development of the country and its people.

The traveling phase of the seminar will include visits to three important regions:

1. the coffee producing areas located in central Colombia, to understand the coffee culture as the traditional basis of the Colombian economy and the role of the coffee region as a regulator of ecology and hill-agriculture;

2. the southwest part of the country, to study agricultural ecosystems and industrial development based on some of the world's most advanced technology in the field of tropical agriculture; and

3. the Caribbean region to become familiar with the ecological diversity of high mountains, deserts, coral areas and mangrove swamps. The traveling phase will end with the visit to Cartagena de Indias, one of the most interesting historical cities and a world heritage site.

Participants will receive assistance in identifying resources for their individual seminar projects. These will enable them to expand and improve their teaching or curriculum development work with respect to economic, ecological, environmental, and sociohistorical issues concerning Colombia.

Objectives:

- Introduce participants to Colombia's historical and sociocultural development
- Analyze and discuss, with participants, the reasons behind the sociopolitical situation in Colombia
- Understand the national and international dimensions of Colombia's biodiversity
- Describe the relationship between health, education, the economy and socioenvironmental problems in the context of sustainable development
- Understand how coffee has developed historically and as part of Colombian culture, and its impact on national development
- Understand the dynamics of industrial and agroindustrial development in Colombia
- Describe the reasons for the new constitutional order in Colombia
- Become acquainted with Colombia's multiethnic nature and its contribution to the sociocultural development
- Become acquainted with the fundamental development of tropical agricultural development in Colombia and worldwide

Methodological Framework :

Each participant is responsible for a critical-holistic analysis of the concept and general objectives of the seminar and for the topic selected for an individual project.

The following components have been selected as basic methodological parameters for a critical-holistic analysis:

Context:

- Description of Colombia's general characteristics, its main social, economic, political, demographic and environmental indicators and others considered fundamental by the particIpant as a frame of reference for the topic on which they will develop an

individual project. Participants will be required to substantiate their reasons for selecting said topic.

Process:

- Lecturers and panel members will determine contents concerning the topic of the lecture or panel discussion. Basically, topics will be described in a historical context, including problems defined by the lecture or panel. Participants are expected to take advantage of the lecture by participating in a very active way, posing questions and voicing concerns regarding solutions to the problems described.

Content:

- Strategies for topic analysis will be indicated during the lecture or panel discussion. Participants are expected to take advantage of the lecturer's expertise to resolve their concerns about lecture topics and/or topics chosen for individual projects.

Condition:

- Lecturers and panel members will try to indicate, specify and explain the elements determining the topic subject to the analysis, including both inherent and external factors, making it possible to define the topic structurally.

Situation:

- Lecturers and panel members will describe the current situation or state of art with respect to the topic for analysis, comparing similar or divergent situations found in other countries. Tendencies and prospectives will also be taken into account, with an eye toward a solution or for a situation of major complexity.

Product/Results:

- The seminar objective, accomplished through lectures and individual projects, is to help participants understand the situation in Colombia, its main problems, possible solutions, and ways to achieve them.

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(alphabetical order)

VOLUME II

8. MERANTO, ONEIDA J.
Present Position:
Assistant Professor in Politics, Metropolitan State College of Denver, Campus Box 43, P.O. Box 173362, Denver CO 80217-3362.
Project Title:
Not well defined.

9. MOLLICA, SISTER DENISE M.
Present Position:
Teacher/Chairperson of Family Living Studies Department, West Philadelphia Catholic High School, 4501 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia PA 19139-3516.
Project Title:
"Food/Nutrition in Colombia"

10. PREDMORE, WILLIAM R.
Present Position:
Teacher in History and Government, Daemen College, 4380 Main Street, Buffalo, N.Y. 14226 14226
Project Title:
"The African Presence in Colombia: Can National Identity Include Ethnic Identity?"

11. RITCHIE, DENNIS J.
Present Position:
Coordinator of Field Education and Professor of the Social Work Department, Nazareth College of Rochester, 4245 East Avenue, Rochester New York, 14618-3790.
Project Title:
"The Relationship Between the New Constitution, Human Rights and Education"

12. SCHINDLER, BARBARA J.

Present Position:

Teacher and Social Studies Supervisor, Oklahoma City Public Schools: Classen School for Advanced Studies, 1901 N. Ellison, Oklahoma City, OK 73106

Project Title:

"Colombia: Model for the Study of Latin American in the International Baccalaureate Curriculum"

13. THOMAN, ANTHONY C.

Present Position:

Teacher of Social Studies, NYC Board of Education, John F. Kennedy High School, 99 Terrace View Avenue, Bronx, N.Y. 10463

Project Title:

"A Latin American Case Study: Coffe Based Agriculture in Colombia"

14. WELDER, BARBARA A.

Present Position:

Instructor Spanish/English, Bee County College, 3800 Charco Road, Beeville, TX 78102

Project Title:

"A Resource Book for Reading/Visualizing Two Colombian Novels: María by Jorge Isaacs and Love in the Time of Cholera by Gabriel García Márquez.

Note: **VOLUME I** includes the following projects:

1. ALFARO, ANA MARÍA.

Present Position:

Associate Professor in Spanish, Castleton State College, Castleton VT 05255

Project Title:

"Costa Atlátnica - Niños de las Regiones de Colombia" [Children in Colombia's Regions]

2. FRADEL, JOSHUA L.
Present Position:
Teacher, Centreville Middle School, 231 Ruthsburg Road, Centreville MD 21639
Project Title:
"Lessons on Colombia. Three Focus Lessons on Colombia for Middle School"

3. GAULKE, RICHARD L.
Present Position:
Professor of Economics, Ellsworth Community College, 1100 College Avenue, Iowa Falls IA 50126
Project Title:
"Not indicated"

4. JONES, MYRA H.
Present Position:
Instructor, Developmental English, English Composition, and Literature. Manatee Community College, P.O. Box 1849, Brandenton, FLA 34206
Project Title:
"Women's Issues in Colombia: A Preliminary Bibliography"

5. KING, CHARLOTTE P.
Present Position:
Associate Professor of Business Spanish and French and Spanish and French Literature, Louisiana State University in Shreveport, LA.
Project Title:
"Curriculum Unit on Colombia: Politics and Biodiversity"

6. KLEIN, DENNIS A.
Present Position:
Professor of Spanish, University of South Dakota, Department of Modern Languages, 414 E. Clark Street, Vermillion, South dakota 57069-2390.
Project Title:
"The Romantic Force of Nature in Jorge Isaacs' María"

7. LOCH, SHERRY L.
Present Position:
Professor of Developmental Psychology, Paradise Valley Community College, Maricopa Community Colleges, 18401 North 32nd Street, Phoenix, AZ 85032
Project Title:
"Aging Across Cultures"

CURRICULM PROJECT

My focus of teaching and research are Latin American Politics, Native American Politics, American Politics and social change and revolution. Given these areas of interest I have selected the curriculum project to include areas that are often overlooked, ignored, or misinterpreted. Similar to many colleges in the U.S., Colombia's curricula more than likely, exclude indigenous politics. I believe that largely as a result of the 1991 Constitution, there is increased need for Colombians to understand Indigenous peoples and Afro-Colombians; particularly in efforts toward sustainable development.

In my Latin American Politics course I have incorporated the newly acquired information about Colombian Indians and Blacks. I suspect that what I have learned and what my students presently learn by including a discussion on Indigenous politics and the politics of African-Americans in courses on U.S. Politics, would be similar to what Colombian students would learn. Students' analyses are much broader and certainly more accurate than they were with the previous curriculum that excluded the role of these groups. Because of this I have designed a project that would include the role these groups play in politics when teaching the politics of Latin American and Colombia. I would further suggest that in order to make the curriculum more appropriate the role of American foreign policy must be incorporated. In recent years U.S. foreign policy has become a key player in the affairs of Colombia and more directly in issues of sustainable development within the territories of Indians and Afro-Colombians.

Attached are two course outlines. One is a course that I have developed that is specifically about Colombian Indigenous Politics, the other is a current course I am teaching that reflects the incorporation of the Colombian Indian question.

In addition, to the above projects I am in the process of writing a conference paper entitled, "Building Nationalism from Diversity: Reconstructing Ethnicity". Attached is a copy of the abstract. I plan to present this paper at the National Conference of Ethnicity and Race. While the paper is still in its working stage, I plan to incorporate the ideas of the seminars presented by Professors Arocha, Soto, Valenzuela, and Orejuela.

I must add that these are only two of the projects I am pursuing. I have been asked to speak to numerous community groups about my experiences, and to make a presentation at "The World Issues Forum", an annual symposium at our College. I plan to fulfill these invitations. Furthermore, I included an article requested from my local newspaper. It should be published shortly.

COLOMBIAN INDIGENOUS POLITICS

This course provides an opportunity to study the indigenous population of Colombia. We will focus on the historical political, social and economic relations between Indigenous people, the federal government, and Colombian society in general. The purpose of this course is four fold: (1) to develop a better understanding of the differences in mental and behavioral characteristics and cultures of Indians and society; (2) to examine the century of destruction, assimilation, and confusion; (3) to understand how Indian policies and Colombian public policies shape Indian behavior; (4) and to develop an understanding of contemporary Indigenous peoples within Colombia.

In order to accomplish the above purpose, we will examine theoretical explanations of the historical realities of Indians. In doing so we will take into account such concepts as colonization, assimilation, cultural pluralism, cultural suicide/genocide, internal colonialism, and causes for change; more specifically the impact and consequences of the 1991 Constitution. Consequently the student will have a broad interpretation of the role played by Indigenous peoples in Colombian politics.

SUGGESTED TEXT: Readings should come from Colombian authors specifically because the Indigenous and Afro-Colombian experiences are much different in Colombia than in other countries. For example, the status of Indians in the United States are one of Domestic Dependent Nations, suggesting a ferderal status unlike any other country in the world. Also I am not aware of any other country initiating land reform where Africans are given land. Dr. Soto's and experiences and his film "Secrets of the Choco" would be excellent to use here, as would the input of Dr. Arocha's books with Dr. Nina de Friedemann and his most recent research in the Department of Choco. Dr. Arocha's research sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation at the Center for Latin Amreican Studies, on Cultural Diveristy in the Americas would be very useful. Dr. Jorge Orejuela's WWF funded project of "La Planada" which promoted research on community sustainable development needs to be incorporated as well. One text I have come across and found to be useful is, Peter Wade's Blackness and Race Mixture: The Dynamics of Racial Identity in Colombia, published by John Hopkins University Press, 1993.

COURSE OUTLINE

I. INTRODUCTION
  a. Why the Indian question
  b. The contest of cultures: contact between modern and traditional cultures.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND
  a. Political realities of the Pre-conquest, Conquest, The Audiencia, The Viceroyalty of New Granada.
  b. Incorporating Indians into the Politics of the New World
  c. Legacy of Conquest

III. COLOMBIAN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT/INDIGENOUS PEOPLES RELATIONSHIP
  a. From Traditional to more modern forms of government
  b, Who is Indian in Colombia?
  c. Congress, Colombian Institutions, and other federal legislation and agencies

IV. NEW REALITIES OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY
  a. New Indian legislation (Constitutional reform)
  b. Indians as political beings
  c. Contemporary issues: asserting Tribal sovereignty in issues of sustainable development; strategies to bring people and nature closer together.

V. RESISTANCE:THE FUTURE OF INDIAN TERRITORIES
  a. The emergence of Indian Nationalism
  b. The new Indian wars, building ethnicity
  c. Coalition building

LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS

The purpose of this course is four-fold: (1) to provide you with the core concepts used within the social science literature in the study of political and economic development in Latin American countries and specific countries within Latin America; (2) to broaden your intellectual horizon beyond the borders of the United States by questioning our ethnocentrism about what it means to be "developed" and "developing"; (3) to examine the causes, processes and outcomes of revolution and social conflict; and (4) to encourage you to think analytically and write critically.

In the first part of the course we will examine approaches used in examining politics in Latin America. Topics to be covered include: political socialization and culture; political and economic development, including sustainable development within outlying territories; and issues of foreign policy. In the second part of the course we will address more specific questions relevant to specific countries. These include such topics as hunger, human rights, political and ethnic conflict, the military, the para-military, MNC penetration, the role of women, the Church, Indigenous societies, drug cartels, guerrila movements, and more.

SUGGESTED TEXT:

Cockcroft, James D. Latin America, History, Politics, and U.S. Policy. Nelson Hall, 1996.

Taras, Raymond C. and Rajat Ganguly Understanding Ethnic Conflict. Longman, 1998.

Martz, John D. Colombia:A Contemporary Political Survey. Chapel Hill:University of North Caroloina Press, 1962.

Selbin, Eric. Modern Latin American Revolutions. Westview, 1993.

Torres, Javier. The Armed Forces in Colombian and the National Front. Boulder CO:Westview Press, 1989.

Osterling, Jorge Pablo. Democracy in Colombia:Clientelistic Politics and Guerrilla Warfare, New Brunswick, NJ:Transaction, 1989.

In addition a packet of articles specific to Colombia will be on reserve.

COURSE OUTLINE

I. INTRODUCTION TO LATIN AMERICA
  a. Leave your Ethnocentrism at the Front Door, Myth and Reality
  b. Historical realities of the colonizers
  c. Achieving independence

II. POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
  a. Theories of development: modernization, dependency, state
  b. The impacts of Multinational Corporations, Friend or Foe
  c. Transitions to democracy, Military and bureaucratic authoritarian alternatives
  d. Resources: Coffee, corn or cocaine?

III. POLITICAL CONFLICT AND REVOLUTION
  a. The potential of regional conflict: for example, the Caribbean lowlands, the Pacific littoral and Amazon basin
  b. Modernization and conflict, ethnic conflict and alternatives to violence
  c. The role of the military, para-military, the church, guerrilla forces, new resources, and the United States

IV. ISSUES OF HUMAN RIGHTS, HUNGER, THE INDIAN QUESTION
  a. The role of international organizations: UN, NGO's etc.
  b. Indigenous movement behavior
  c. People-centered development
  d. Bio-diversity and change

ABSTRACT
Prepared by Dr. Oneida J. Meranto, MSCD, Denver, Colorado
National Conference on Ethnicity and Race

BUILDING NATIONALISM FROM DIVERSITY: RECONSTRUCTING ETHNICITY

On July 4, 1991, Colombia embarked upon a new constitutional path. The 1991 Constitution was written in response to recent violence, similar to the Constitution of 1957, created to make the country more peaceful following the period defined as "La Violencia". The new Constitution was developed to mitigate the violence brought on by "narcotrafico", to legitimize the negotiations made with guerrilla forces, and to address the overall public disorder that evolved as a result of these new conditions.

In an effort to decrease this level of violence, Colombians were encouraged to exert their citizenship by displaying cultural diversity. This differs greatly from the previous political charter in which cultural diversity was largely ignored and certainly not encouraged. Colombian Anthropologist Jaime Arocha, in a seminar in Bogota, said that the Constitution attempts to build the nation "neither by integration nor segregation but by pursuing unity through the preservation of ethnic variability." While encouraging ethnic diversity may be considered revolutionary, the main purpose for these initiatives was to increase tolerance and in the end reduce violence. An examination of the more recent years, however, indicate that the results fall short of these expectations.

This Constitution introduces recognition of semiautonomous territories for indigenous peoples and collective domains for Afro-Colombians as essential. Furthermore, it acknowledges the state's obligation to grant rights to particular forms of language and education, and local communities' capability to develop traditional and autonomous forms of sustainable development. Colombian scholarship mostly have identified this process as movement towards "reconstructing ethnicity". Most significant here is that these initiatives were not in response to group demands, but rather offered by "elites."

Both nationalism and ethnicity are powerful political forces. For instance, in Latin American countries nationalism has been a powerful political ideology, while in Asia, the Near East and Africa, protracted ethnic wars are evidenced. In most cases it could be said that Latin American countries were fairly free of the formation or persistence of ethnic identity and therefore free of ethnic civil wars.

Ethnic identity has been defined by Milton J. Esman in Ethnic Politics, 1994 p. 27, as "the set of meanings that individuals impute to their membership in an ethnic community, including those attributes that bind them to that collectivity and that distinguish it from others in their relevant environment". Ethnic group or ethnic community, refers to groups of people who are united by a common inherited culture, this can include language, music, food, dress, customs and practices, racial similarities, common religion, common history, common ancestry. These groups are classified as either indigenous societies or immigrant diasporas. Indigenous societies are the ancestry of the original inhabitants. They often claim an exclusive right to the land, referred to as "aboriginal title". Ethnic diasporas, on the other hand, are the result of population migration induced by economic or political reasons. African slaves and Spanish and English colonizers are classified as ethnic diasporas.

Colombia certainly has both types of ethnic groups having been colonized by the Spanish and heavily involved in the slave trade. Until recently what Colombia has not experienced is ethnic consciousness and more importantly ethnic political movements. Ethnic political movements occur when an ethnic community is either in struggle for complete control of the state or seeks to overcome conditions of repression without seeking total control of the state, but attempting to establish political autonomy. Theoretically the ethnic political movement tries to represent the collective interest of the group. In reality, what determines the success of the group is the level of ethnic consciousness and solidarity. Since ethnic identity is something that has been encouraged and extended to Indians and Africans in Colombians we have not seen a very strong ethnic political movement in either groups, let alone much solidarity.

Colombian elites encouraging ethnic diversity is suspicious at best, but not without some explanation. With the absence of a national identity, little patriotism, certainly no national public policy (regionalism runs high), and very little sense of how to address these problems, Colombians turned to the creation of a revised constitution in hopes of increasing patriotism and political activity. It was believed that by incorporating groups which had historically been excluded political participation would increase. That is to say, (it was hoped) that as voter participation increased legitimacy for the two party system would increase; subsequently, violence would decrease.

Unfortunately that has not been the case. Since the passage of the Constitution none of this has occurred with the exception of possible increased voter participation which is similar to the United States. When Blacks were enfranchised as a result of the Civil Rights Movement, participation increased. For a few years African Americans were able to use the electoral system to their advantage. Since the late 1970s, however, there has been a significant decrease in Black voter participation. I expect to see a similar chain of events in Colombia within the communities of

Africans and Indians. Not only did the Constitutional Reforms hope to stimulate these groups to embrace the system more fully, but increased participation was to be rewarded by allocating congressional seats to Blacks and Indians. There should be little doubt that these politically symbolic gestures by the state to ethnic groups have great potential of contributing to increased patriotism. Indians and Africans suddenly had a stake, albeit small, in the future of the country unlike before.

Nonetheless, violence did not decrease and government was not viewed as more legitimate. In fact violence continued to escalate and government's legitimacy sank lower than it had been previously; more corrupt than even during the period of "La Violencia". There is no denying that much of the violence and the corruption of government can be linked or attributed to drugs. Surely statistics will support this. But I suspect that if we were able to hold still the effect of drugs as a powerful variable, we could explain how the reconstruction of ethnicity, particularly in a country with little history of ethnic identity, contributes to an increase rather than to a decline in conflict. More specifically, I plan to show that the Constitutional Reforms which gave land to Indians and Blacks worked to increase conflict not only among these ethnic groups but also between these groups and larger society. Given the historical context of ethnic conflict in other parts of the world, and the drug related violence in Colombia, I further examine why the Colombian Government would initiate such reforms and subsequently expect a decrease in violence. Strong group history and status tend to heighten a group's perception of the legitimacy of its grievances and to predispose it to act on them. In other words, increased ethnic consciousness affect the mobilization potential of a group, and repressive control exercised by the dominant group. In sum, I question the motivation of the state to grant these rights and its attempt to reconstruct ethnicity, when much of the literature on ethnic conflict demonstrate that ethnic identity, when politicized, often increases the potential for conflict. One of my conclusions may be that the creation of these initiatives may be nothing more than elites manipulating the two ethnic cultures in order to protect their own well-being and existence and/or to gain future political and economic advantage over this group.

Submitted to the The Denver Post, Oct. 30, 1997
by Dr. Oneida J. Meranto, Metropolitan State College of Denver

WHAT IS A COLOMBIAN?

Bogota, the capital of Colombia sits some 9,000 feet above sea level. Visitors are routinely told that they might run out of breath in the thin air, but coming from Denver the thin air wasn't a problem. I was, however, breathless at sights I saw in a country I had only visited in textbooks. I was soon jumping potholes in the streets, talking with the flower vendors, walking with the homeless kids and gawking in awe at the fashions of the workers, trying to determine what are Colombians known for beside supplying us (U.S.) with cocaine and coffee? What is a Colombian?

Like most Latin American countries, and supported by a recent story in the Colombian "El Tiempo", 80% of the population lives in poverty. Also 95% are Roman Catholic, and 58% are Mestizo (a mixture of Indian and European), the rest being white, African, or Indian. What is different about Colombia is the historical absence of military coups like in Argentina, dictators like Pinochet in Chile, revolutions like Nicaragua and Cuba, plus little U.S. military presence until recently.

Bogota has the highest crime rate in the world, a statistic made very real when I was pick-pocketed. My first reaction was to call the police, but I remembered a briefing at the U.S. embassy. Rather than wait for one of the few policemen, and then proceed through the courts, Colombians resolve their conflicts differently. An overloaded judicial system has been replaced by a form of private justice. Anyone who has anything to protect (and can afford one) has a security guard, either to protect property, or act as hired gunmen, called "sicarios". Their activities certainly contribute to an escalation in crime. Naturally Americans connect this high crime rate to drug trafficking, but little of can be. Bogota has experienced a population explosion, a high rate of unemployment, a shortage of housing, rapid rural migration, and an unskilled labor force. Add to these factors, a lack of a distinctive national character, little patriotism, certainly no national public policy where regionalism runs high, and very little sense of where they are going. Colombia's history portrays a clear picture of distancing itself from the U.S. At the same time not totally embracing Europe. In the process of being so concerned with not being American or European they failed to create a concretely visible identity.

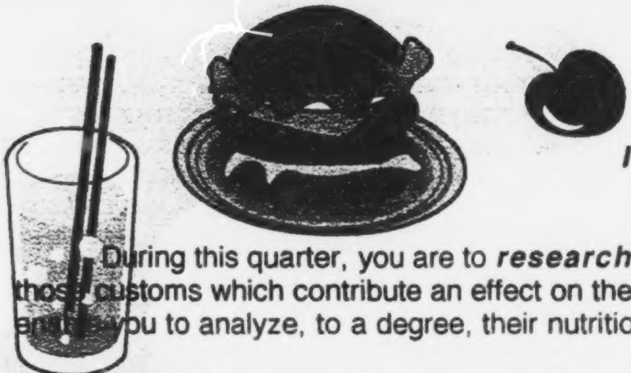
The politicians realized their country lacked nationalism, and in 1991 created a new constitution. They believed that this new document would increase patriotism and political activity. In some curious way it was hoped that the Constitution would build nationalism from diversity, a reconstruction of ethnicity, so to speak. Prior to the Constitutional reform, "Colombians were just

Colombians" I was told, "we were not African-Colombians, or Indian-Colombians, or Asian-Colombians." And I found that to be true for the most part. Except for the Indians living deep in the Amazon, most Colombians still do not refer to their ethnicity or race. Jaime Aroche, an Colombian anthropologist stated, "we have never identified ourselves like you do in the United States. Thus, we do not have racism". What he meant is Colombians have never institutionalized racism. They have never had anything similar to Jim Crowe laws. And this is true. Race hasn't counted, color has. Colombia has a special vocabulary for race and class differences: "moreno" (brown-tinted) or "claro" (clear), "trigueno" (wheat-colored), or "trigueno claro" (light wheat), and "negro por el pelo" (black by virtue of hair texture). Usually these numerous descriptions imply no direct racial slur. Still the lighter skinned are usually better off economically. Interesting how color, race and class still seem to correlate. With the new Constitution this "no racism" may all change. In order for an African or Indian to receive land they must be race or ethnically conscious. They will have to develop a sense of who they are and prove it; and no "negro por el pelo" will suffice.

I arrived in Colombia when it was in the midst of self-transformation, eager to develop a nationalism that includes race, ethnicity and gender. Unfortunately I fear that little will change with the severe lack of public confidence in the political regime. And that is sad, because the diversity of Colombia should be one of its most treasured trait; it is afterall what is Colombian.

Fulbright - Hays
Seminars Abroad Program
USA - COLOMBIA
July 6 - August 3, 1997

Sister Denise M. Mollica, IHM



FOODS / NUTRITION
INTERNATIONAL DAY PROJECT
Fourth Quarter

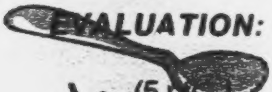
During this quarter, you are to ***research*** a particular culture -- particularly those customs which contribute an effect on the people's diet. This research should enable you to analyze, to a degree, their nutrition.

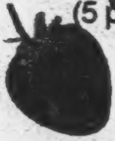
OBJECTIVES: This students will be able to:

1. take a greater part in interdisciplinary studies;
2. understand and appreciate the food culture and habits of other countries;
3. develop skills in preparing foreign foods;
4. entertain with ease and assurance;
5. recognize the necessity of planning;
6. budget time and work to meet certain goals; and
7. realize the time, work, and cost involved in preparing foods, especially for entertaining.

PROCEDURES: Students will:

1. work in groups according to kitchens;
2. produce research in booklet form;
3. set up a buffet table in an International theme -- complete with posters, flag, maps, etc. for the country you have selected.
4. exhibit your booklet and finished product for taste and appearance and be prepared to explain your project; and
5. evaluate the objectives, procedures, and finished product.

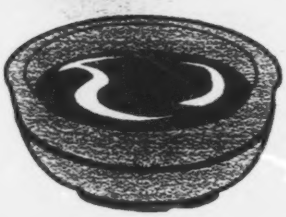




EVALUATION: The **typed, double-spaced** booklet will include:

(5 pts.) 1. **Cover** - decorated and enclosed in a plastic cover

Table of Contents - specify person responsible for each topic



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(5 pts) 2. **Introduction**
  - a. statement of purpose
  - b. why you selected this culture

(20) 3. **Geographical location**
  - a. climate
  - b. agriculture
  - c. effect on food supply
  - d. maps -- land, rainfall, products

(20) 4. **Habits and customs of the people**
  - a. number of meals / day
  - b. celebrations
  - c. role of food

(20) 5. **Preparation of foods**
  - a. menu for a typical day
  - b. 4 recipes (including the one you are preparing)

(20) 6. **Analysis of the people's nutrition through the use of the Food Guide Pyramid (1992)**

(5pts) 7. **Conclusion**

(5pts) 8. **Bibliography**
  - a. minimum of three (3) sources
  - b. correct format (see below)

Author (Last name, First name Middle Initial). Title. City of Publication: Publisher, Date of Publication.

TAKE YOUR TIME!!!

DO YOUR BEST!!!

GOD BLESS YOUR WORK!!!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Introduction
    a. statement of purpose
    b. reason for selecting Colombia

2. Geographical Location
    a. climate
    b. agriculture
    c. effect on food supply
    d. maps -- land, rainfall, products

3. Habits and customs of the people
    a. number of meals / day
    b. celebrations
    c. role of food

4. Preparation of foods
    a. menu for a typical day
    b. 4 recipes

5. Analysis of the people's nutrition through the use of the Food Guide Pyramid

6. Conclusion

7. Bibliography

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INTRODUCTION

What do you know about the culture of Colombia -- her land, her people, her food? A few short months ago, I knew relatively little about Colombia. After spending a month in total immersion, I know a little bit more. I have come to appreciate Colombia for what she is -- a land of great potential. Once I present my research, I hope that you will become aware of her beauty and potential, understand and appreciate her food culture, and be able to analyze the nutrition of her people.

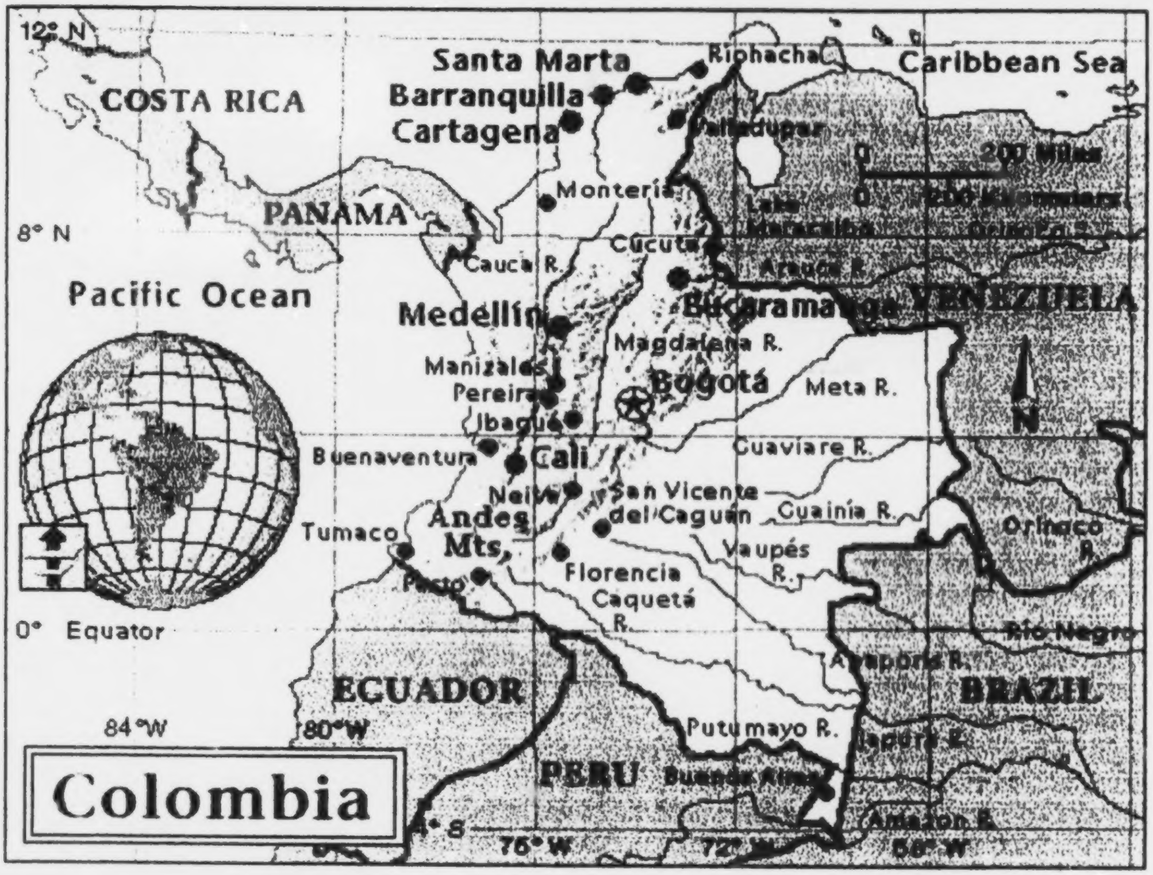
Why Colombia? I am interested in South America because some of my friends teach in Chile and Peru and truly love their work and their people. I would like to come to this knowledge and appreciation first hand. Fortunately, Colombia agreed to be our host country; so, here I am!

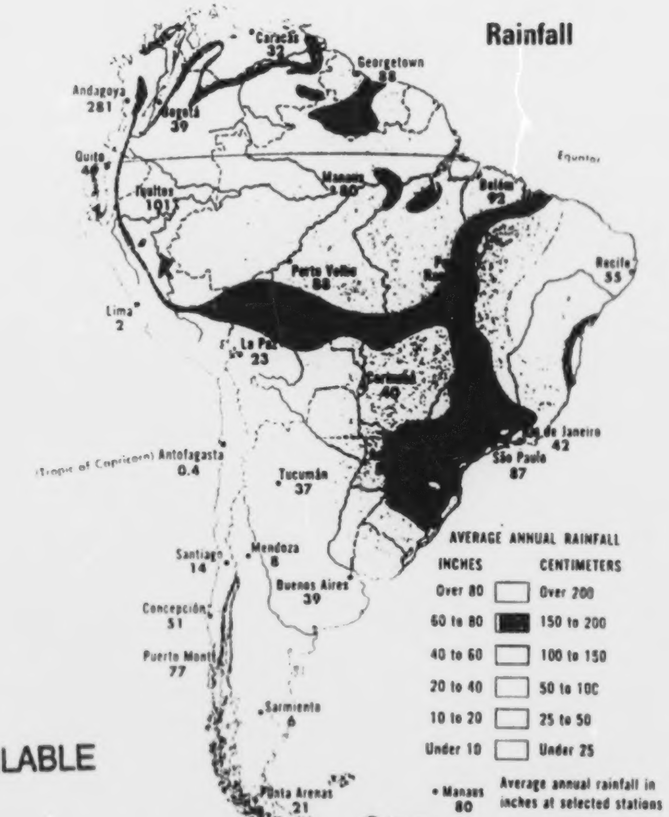
GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION

Colombia is located on the Northwest corner of South America. It is bordered by 5 countries (Panama on the Northwest, Venezuela to the Northeast, Brazil to the Southeast, Peru to the South, and Ecuador to the Southwest) and 2 bodies of water (the Pacific Ocean on the West and the Caribbean Sea to the North) and includes the San Andres Islands and the Malpeno Islands.

Approximately the size of Texas, New Mexico, and Arkansas combined, Colombia covers 1.2 million sq. km (440,000 sq. mi.) and is the 4th largest country in South America. Its terrain varies greatly - with flat coastal areas in the Caribbean region, central highlands [3 mountain chains (*cordilleras*) - including some beautiful snow - peaked mountains] in the Andean region, volcanic mountains, eastern plains, and tropical rain forests in the Pacific and Amazon regions.

Colombia's climate depends on its latitude and altitude. It has tropical climate on the coast and eastern plains (90°+ F.), cooler in the highlands (32° - 70°F.), and





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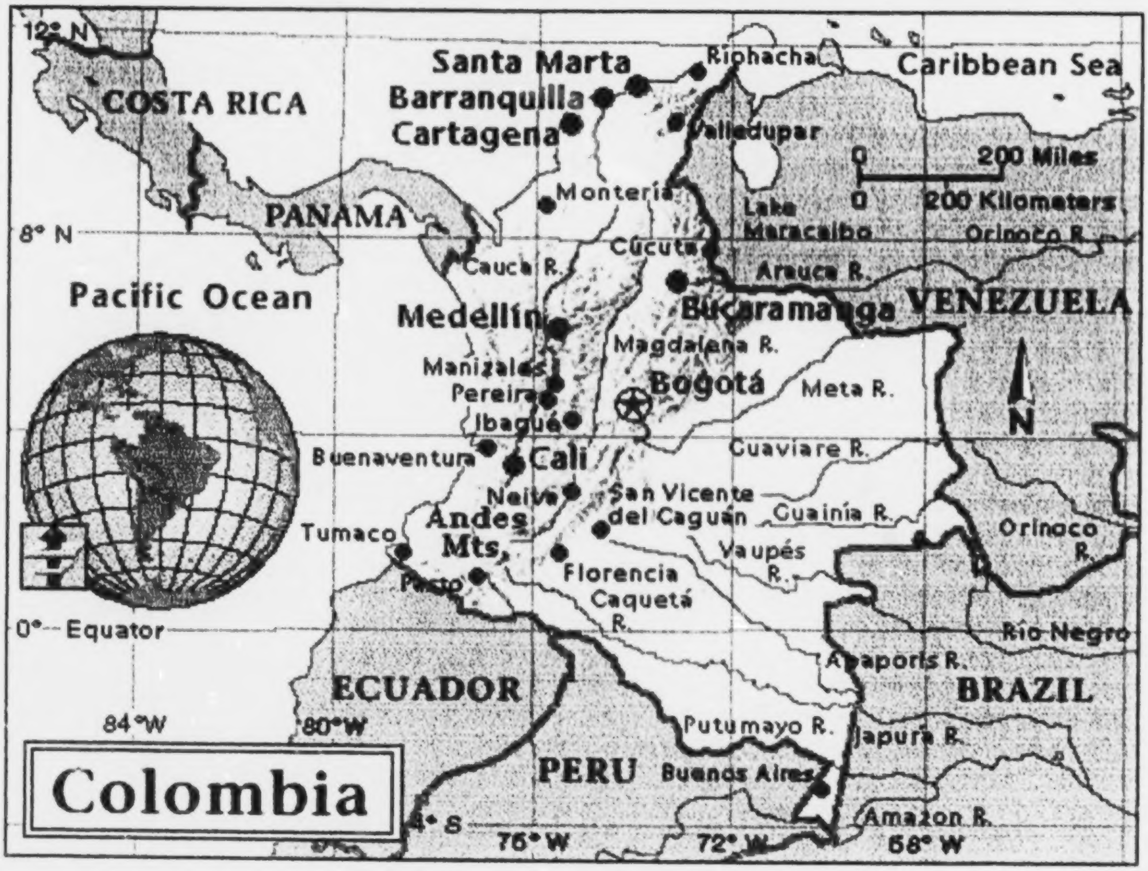

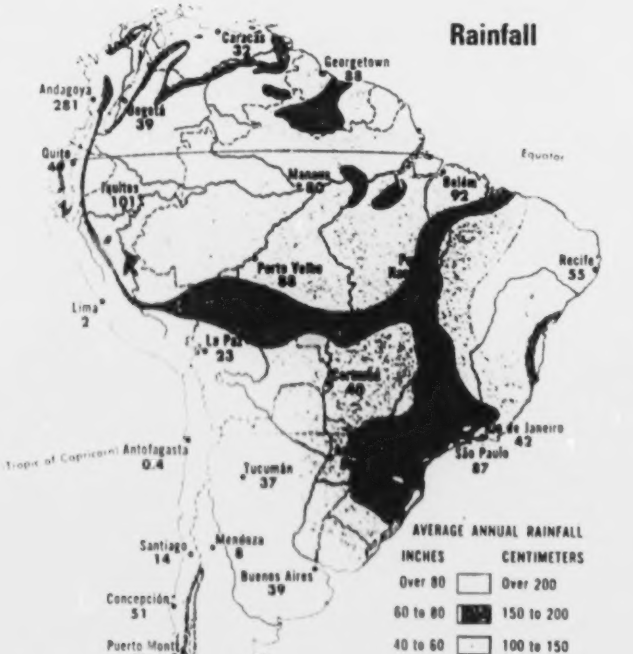

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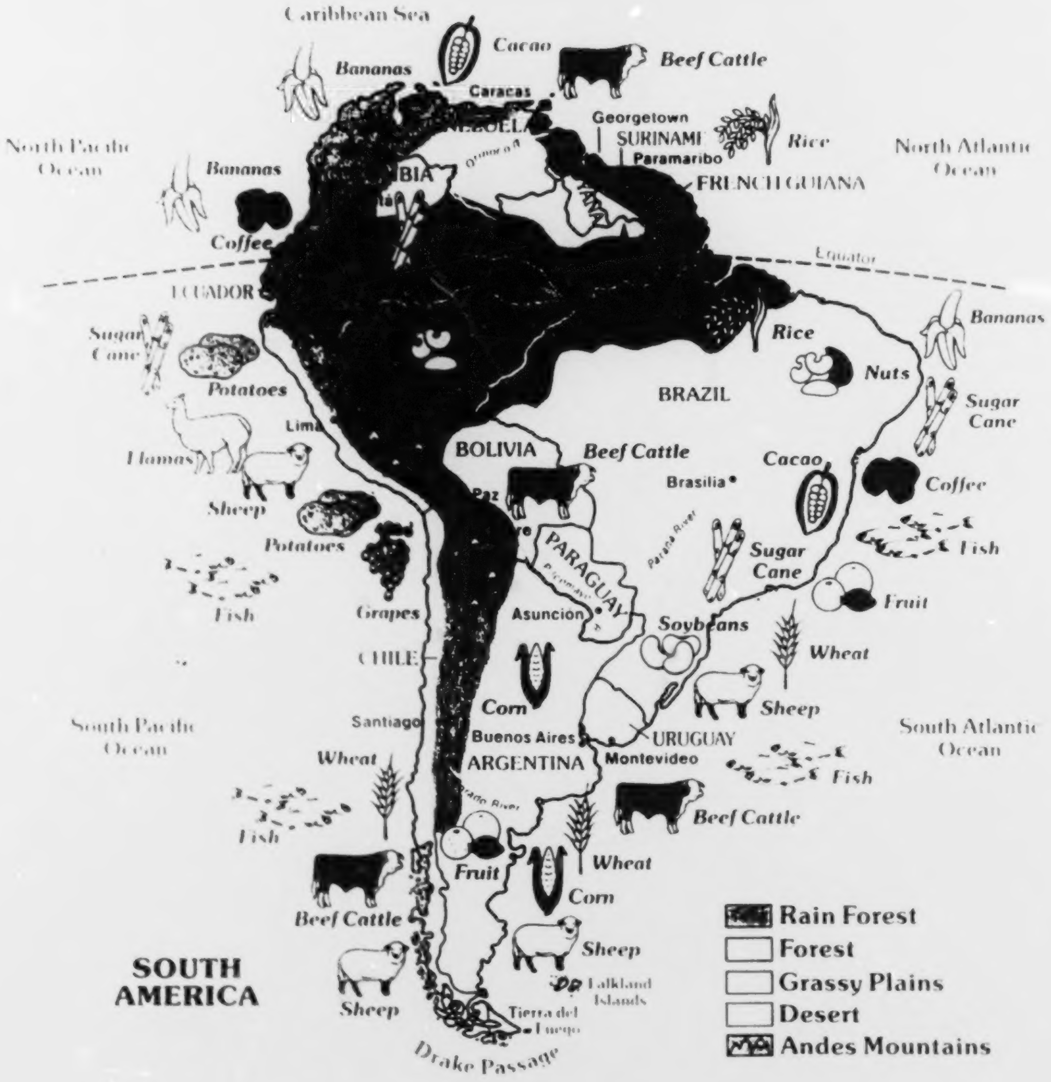
COLOMBIA:

A LAND of GREAT POTENTIAL



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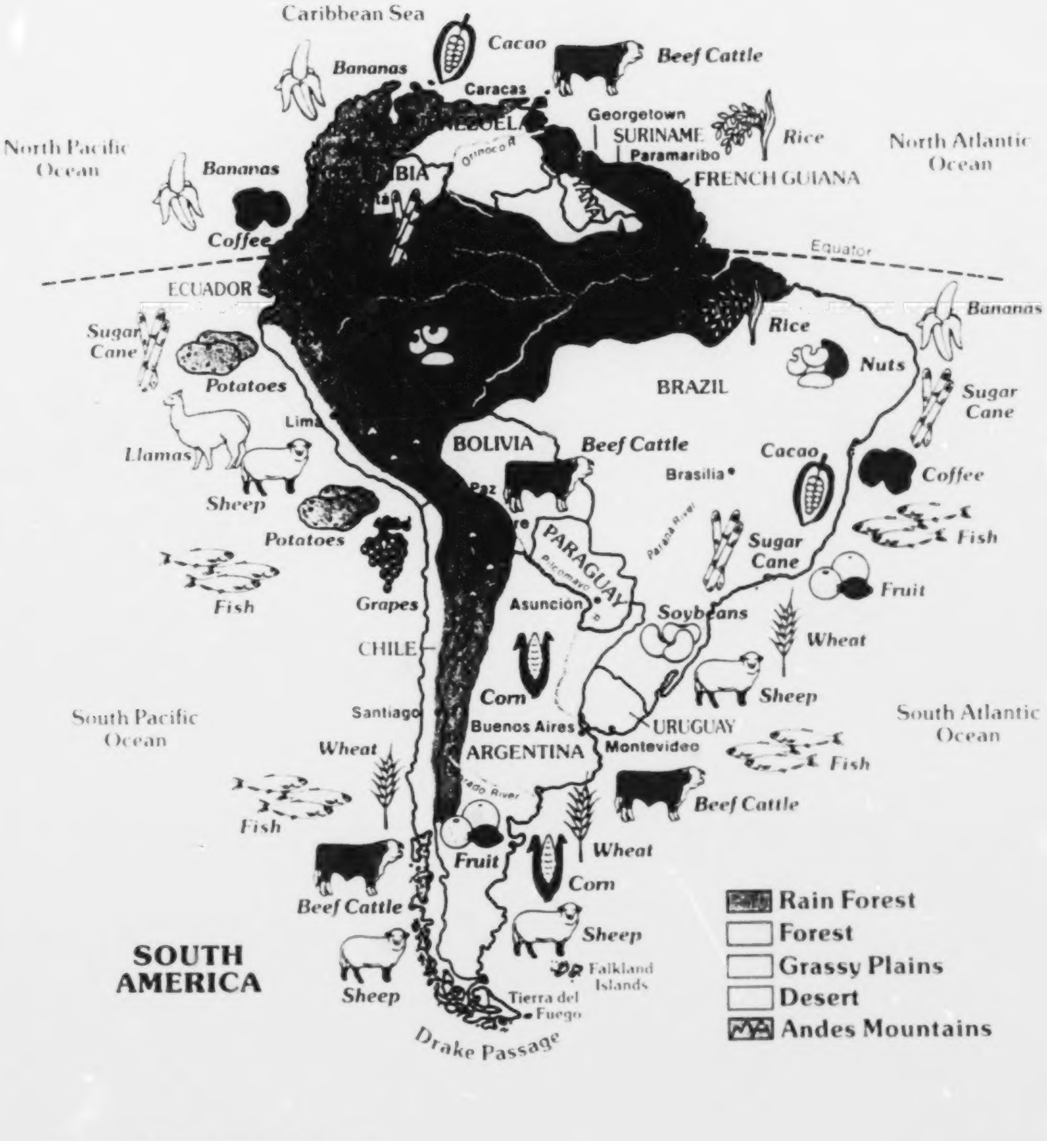
COLOMBIA:

A LAND of GREAT POTENTIAL



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between 70° - 90° F) in the coffee zone. For every 180m of altitude, the temperature drops 1 degree.

There are no seasons as such. Seasons are measured in terms of wet [April / May and October / November] and dry [June - September and December - March] seasons. Rainfall is related to the winds. Because Colombia is experiencing the effects of *El Nino* , climate is unseasonable.

Colombia is a tropical country; consequently, the days have the same length all year round. Sunrise is approximately 6:00 A.M. and sunset is about 6:30 P.M.

Climate and soils definitely influence Colombia's agriculture which is responsible for 21% of GDP. Crops comprise 67% and livestock 33% of the agricultural output. The wide variety of crops include: coffee, bananas, cut flowers, cotton, sugar cane, livestock, rice, soybeans, sorghum, tobacco, corn, cocoa beans, oil seeds, and vegetables.

HABITS AND CUSTOMS of the PEOPLE

Colombia's population is approximately 35 million with a high migration to the urban areas. Santa Fe de Bogota (the capital) has the highest urban population (ab't 7 million) while the Caribbean region has the highest rural population (ab't 8 million).

Ethnic divisions include: approx. 58% mestizo (mixed blood), 20% white (European descent), 14% mulatto (AfroAmerican), 4% Black, 3% mixed Black and Indigenous, and less than 1% fully Indigenous.

Life expectancy for men is about 67 and for women about 72. The infant mortality rate is about 30 / 1,000 or 3% and the population growth rate is 1.7%

The official language is Spanish and Roman Catholic is the religion of 95% of the people.

9 years of education is compulsory; however, only 5 years of primary school are offered in rural areas. Literacy is 93% in urban areas and 67% in rural areas.

equivalent to the ***ajiaco***;

Arroz con camarones, a combination of shrimp and rice that is native to the Caribbean coast; and

Patacon pisao, one of the various ways of serving plantains that are common in Colombia.

Ajiaco santafereno

6 chicken breasts
3 stalks of green onion
2 bay laurel leaves
1 sprig of coriander
salt and pepper to taste
12 cups (96 fl. oz. / 3 l.) water
2 bunches of *guascas*
2 lb. (1kg) of pastuso potatoes
1 1/2 lb. (750g) of sabanero potatoes
1 lb. (500g) of criollo potatoes, peeled
4 tender ears of corn, cut into segments
1 cup capers
1 cup (4 oz. / 120 gr.) cream
4 medium avocados

Cook the chicken breasts with the green onions, the bay laurel leaves, the coriander, adding salt and pepper to the water, for 30 minutes. Take out the chicken and set aside.

Strain the broth, and remove the grease. Put a bunch of guascas in the strained broth and allow to boil.

Add the pastuso potatoes, cut into chunks. 15 minutes later add the sabanero potatoes, and last the criollo potatoes and the corn. Simmer for 20 minutes.

Add the second bunch of *guascas* and continue simmering on low for ten more minutes, or until achieving the desired consistency. Remove the *guascas*.

Bone and shred the chicken. Add a little warm broth to the chicken and serve separately. The capers, the cream and the avocados should also be served separately.

(8 portions) p. 76*

Mondongo

4 lb. (2kg) clean beef tripe
1 lb. (500g) pork
3 *chorizos*, cut in slices
1 cup *hogao* (see below)
10 cups (8 fl. oz. / 2.5 l.) water
4 cups basic broth (see below)
cumin, pepper, saffron, and salt to taste
2 lb. (1 kg) potatoes, diced
1 tablespoon coriander, chopped

Cook the tripe in water, for one hour in a pressure cooker or three hours in an ordinary pot, until achieving the desired texture. Throw away the water.

Dice the tripe and pork in small cubes, add the *chorizos* and marinate them in the *hogao* for two hours.

In the ten cups of water and the four cups of basic broth, cook the tripe, the pork, and the *chorizos* with the cumin, pepper, saffron, and salt. Simmer for one hour over medium heat.

Add the potatoes and cook for 30 more minutes until soft.

Add coriander before serving. (8 portions) p.139*

Basic broth (Caldo basico)

2 lb. (1 kg) of meaty bones
1 lb. (500g) marrow bones
5 cloves of garlic
2 large onions
2 stalks celery
2 bay laurel leaves
2 tablespoons parsley
2 sprigs of thyme
2 large carrots
1 large turnip
12 cups (96 fl. oz. / 3 l.) of water
salt and pepper to taste

Place all of the ingredients to cook over low heat for two hours. Remove frequently the foam which collects on the surface.

Remove the bones and strain the broth, which can be frozen for further use.

Beef bones can be replaced by chicken or fish bones, depending on what dish the broth is to be used for. p. 81*

Hogao

2 lb. (1 kg) of red tomatoes, finely chopped
6 stalks green onions, finely chopped
4 tablespoons oil
salt and saffron, to taste

Saute the tomatoes and the onions in oil, stir until achieving a smooth sauce. Add salt, cumin, and saffron. p.142*

Arroz con camarones (Rice with shrimp)

1 1/2 lb. (750g) of fresh shrimp
1 lb. (500g) of rice
1 cup *guiso* (see below)
5 cups (40 fl. oz. / 1.25 l.) of water
salt and pepper to taste

Wash the shrimp in fresh water. Cook them in five cups boiling water to which salt has been added for three minutes. Remove and reserve the water in which they were cooking.

Peel the shrimp and remove their heads. Grind the heads in a mortar and mix them in water.

In the pot where the rice is to be prepared heat the *guiso*, add the rice, salt, and pepper. Saute during five minutes.

Add the water in which the ground heads were mixed and cook over medium heat for 20 minutes, until the rice begins to dry.

Add the shrimp and stir. Cover the pot and cook low for another 20 minutes. The rice should be moist. 8 portions p. 50*

Gulso

2 red onions, finely chopped	1 tablespoon vinegar
6 stalks of green onion, chopped	1 tablespoon annatto
4 ripe tomatoes, peeled and chopped	salt and pepper to taste
8 sweet *ajies*, chopped	1/4 cup (2 oz. / 50 ml.) oil
2 garlic cloves, chopped	

Mix the onion, the green onion, the tomatoes, the *ajies*, the garlic and the vinegar. Add the annatto, the salt and the pepper. Saute in hot oil over medium heat during 15 minutes. p.50*

Patacon pisao (Squashed and fried plantain)

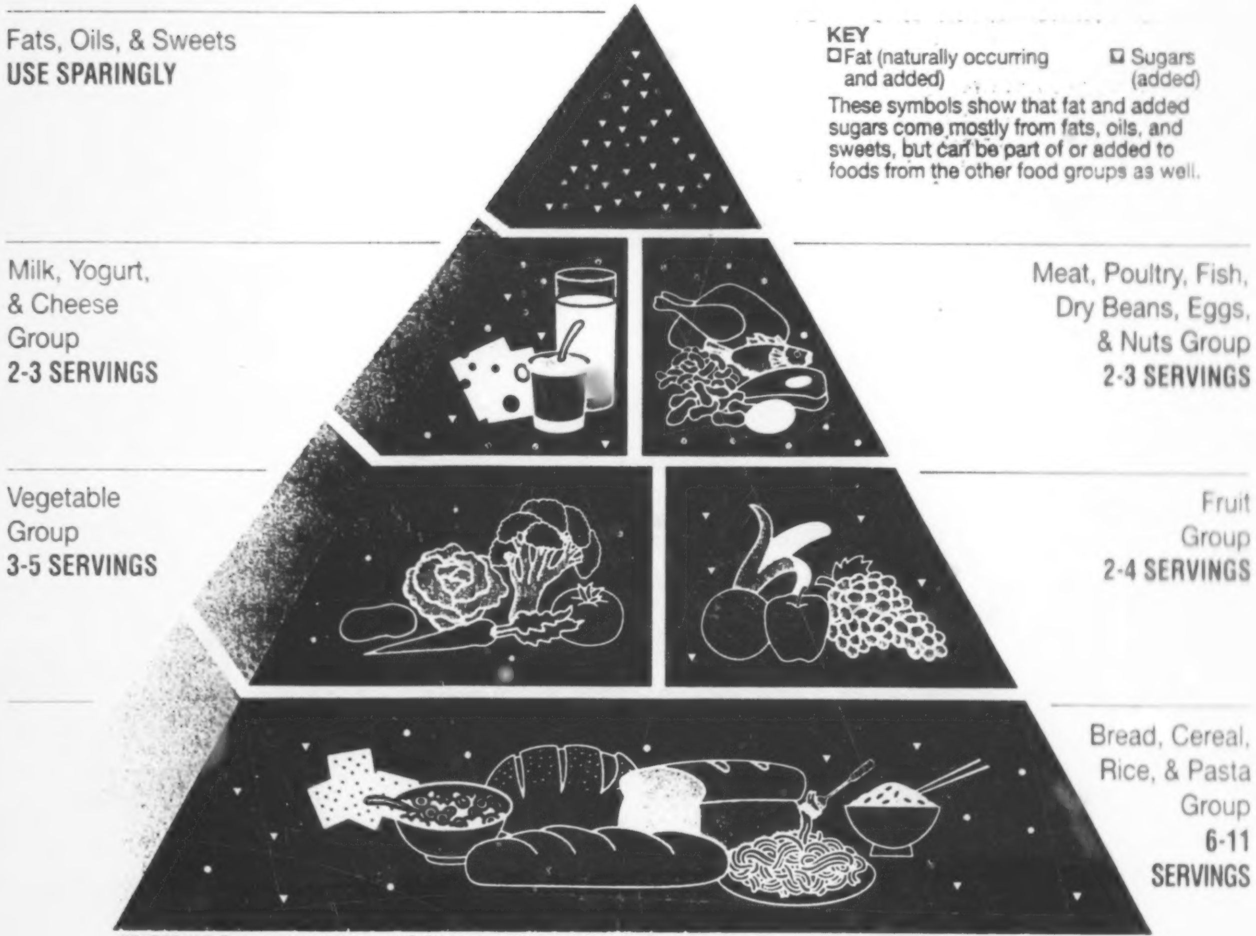
4 green plantains	salt
oil	*aji*

Peel the plantains and cut into five - centimeter slices. Fry them for five minutes in abundant oil not too hot. Remove and drain. Pound them flat.

Dip the squashed slices in water mixed with salt and *aji*. Fry them again in very hot oil until golden. 8 portions p. 49*

Food Guide Pyramid

A Guide to Daily Food Choices



KEY
○ Fat (naturally occurring and added) ▽ Sugars (added)
These symbols show that fat and added sugars come mostly from fats, oils, and sweets, but can be part of or added to foods from the other food groups as well.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Agriculture/U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

Use the Food Guide Pyramid to help you eat better every day. . .the Dietary Guidelines way. Start with plenty of Breads, Cereals, Rice, and Pasta; Vegetables; and Fruits. Add two to three servings from the Milk group and two to three servings from the Meat group.

Each of these food groups provides some, but not all, of the nutrients you need. No one food group is more important than another — for good health you need them all. Go easy on fats, oils, and sweets, the foods in the small tip of the Pyramid.

To order a copy of "The Food Guide Pyramid" booklet, send a $1.00 check or money order made out to the Superintendent of Documents to: Consumer Information Center, Department 159-Y, Pueblo, Colorado 81009.

U.S. Department of Agriculture, Human Nutrition Information Service, August 1992, Leaflet No. 572

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How to Use The Daily Food Guide

What counts as one serving?

Breads, Cereals, Rice, and Pasta
1 slice of bread
1/2 cup of cooked rice or pasta
1/2 cup of cooked cereal
1 ounce of ready-to-eat cereal

Vegetables
1/2 cup of chopped raw or cooked vegetables
1 cup of leafy raw vegetables

Fruits
1 piece of fruit or melon wedge
3/4 cup of juice
1/2 cup of canned fruit
1/4 cup of dried fruit

Milk, Yogurt, and Cheese
1 cup of milk or yogurt
1-1/2 to 2 ounces of cheese

Meat, Poultry, Fish, Dry Beans, Eggs, and Nuts
2-1/2 to 3 ounces of cooked lean meat, poultry, or fish
Count 1/2 cup of cooked beans, or 1 egg, or 2 tablespoons of peanut butter as 1 ounce of lean meat (about 1/3 serving)

Fats, Oils, and Sweets
LIMIT CALORIES FROM THESE especially if you need to lose weight

The amount you eat may be more than one serving. For example, a dinner portion of spaghetti would count as two or three servings of pasta.

How many servings do you need each day?

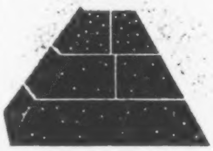
	Women & some older adults	Children, teen girls, active women, most men	Teen boys & active men
Calorie level*	about 1,600	about 2,200	about 2,800
Bread group	6	9	11
Vegetable group	3	4	5
Fruit group	2	3	4
Milk group	**2-3	**2-3	**2-3
Meat group	2, for a total of 5 ounces	2, for a total of 6 ounces	3 for a total of 7 ounces

*These are the calorie levels if you choose lowfat, lean foods from the 5 major food groups and use foods from the fats, oils, and sweets group sparingly.

**Women who are pregnant or breastfeeding, teenagers, and young adults to age 24 need 3 servings.

A Closer Look at Fat and Added Sugars

The small tip of the Pyramid shows fats, oils, and sweets. These are foods such as salad dressings, cream, butter, margarine, sugars, soft drinks, candies, and sweet desserts. Alcoholic beverages are also part of this group. These foods provide calories but few vitamins and minerals. Most people should go easy on foods from this group.



Some fat or sugar symbols are shown in the other food groups. That's to remind you that some foods in these groups can also be high in fat and added sugars, such as cheese or ice cream from the milk group, or french fries from the vegetable group. When choosing foods for a healthful diet, consider the fat and added sugars in your choices from all the food groups, not just fats, oils, and sweets from the Pyramid tip.

GUIDE TO GOOD EATING

Every day eat different foods from each food group.

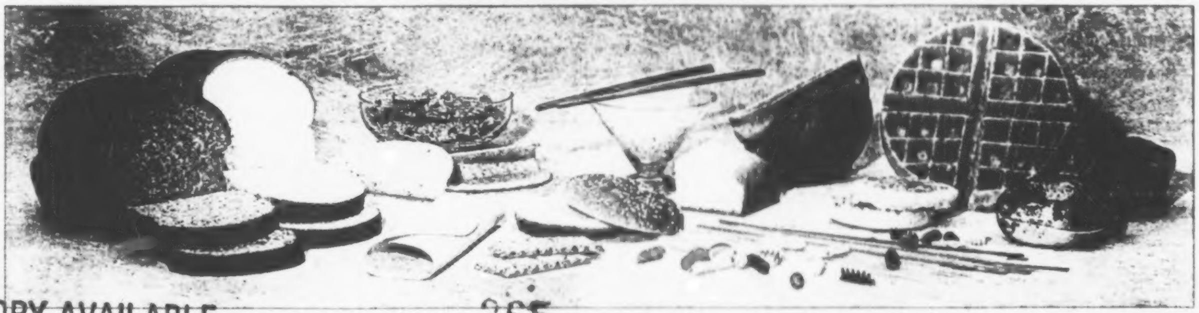
MILK
Group
2-4 servings

MEAT
Group
2-3 servings

VEGETABLE
Group
3-5 servings

FRUIT
Group
2-4 servings

GRAIN
Group
6-11 servings



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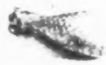
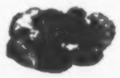
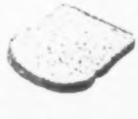
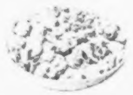
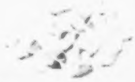
The Guide to Good Eating can be used in conjunction with the Food Guide Pyramid

GUIDE TO GOOD EATING

Anyone can eat for good health.
Just follow these 2 simple steps:

1. ***Eat foods from all Five Food Groups every day.*** Each food group provides you with different nutrients.
2. ***Eat different foods from each food group every day.*** Some foods in a food group are better sources of a nutrient than others. By eating several foods from each food group, you increase your chance of getting all the nutrients you need.

Every day eat:	*Suggested Serving Sizes*				
MILK *Group for calcium* ***2-4 servings***	 Milk 1 cup	 Yogurt 1 cup	Cheese 1½ – 2 oz	 Cottage cheese ½ cup	 Ice cream, ice milk, frozen yogurt ½ cup
MEAT *Group for iron* ***2-3 servings***	 Cooked, lean meat 2-3 oz	 Cooked, lean poultry, fish 2-3 oz	Egg 1	 Peanut butter 2 tbsp	 Cooked, dried peas, dried beans ½ cup
VEGETABLE *Group for vitamin A* ***3-5 servings***	 Juice ¾ cup	 Raw vegetable ½ cup	 Raw leafy vegetable 1 cup	 Cooked vegetable ½ cup	 Potato 1 medium
FRUIT *Group for vitamin C* ***2-4 servings***	Juice ¾ cup	 Raw, canned, or cooked fruit ½ cup	 Apple, banana, orange, pear 1 medium	 Grapefruit ½	 Cantaloupe ¼
GRAIN *Group for fiber* ***6-11 servings***	 Bread 1 slice	 English muffin, hamburger bun ½	 Ready-to-eat cereal 1 oz	 Pasta, rice, grits, cooked cereal ½ cup	 Tortilla, roll, muffin 1

Some foods don't have enough nutrients to fit in any of the Five Food Groups. These foods are called "Others." These foods are okay to eat in moderation. They should not replace foods from the Five Food Groups.

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"OTHERS" *Category*

Fats and oils, sweets, salty snacks, alcohol, other beverages, and condiments

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RECYCLED PAPERS

CONCLUSION

After spending an exciting month in the Fulbright - Hays Seminars Abroad [total immersion] Program, my outlook on Colombia has been broadened. I have been exposed to her people and culture; land and all it produces - from coffee and sugar cane to thousands of species of beautiful flowers as well as emeralds and gold to coal and oil reserves; her open economy and somewhat troubled history with problems in interior politics, illegal drugs, and violence.

Since I am interested in the nutrition of the people, I kept a food diary and used the US Department of Agriculture's Food Guide Pyramid to analyze typical menus from the Andes (Bogota), the Coffee Zone (Pereira and Cali), and the Caribbean coast (Cartegena and Barranquilla). I have discovered that the Colombian diet is good in meat and fruits; on target in breads/ grains (the average Colombian eats more than one *arepa* at each meal thus bringing the daily average to about 6.5); and very low in vegetables (especially dark green, leafy vegetables and bright yellow vegetables) and dairy products (which will have a direct effect on calcium levels and bone density). These lower levels are the result of the range and availability of the crops and dairy products.

This experience has truly opened my eyes to the great beauty and potential of Colombia as well as an understanding and appreciation of her culture. It was indeed a wonderful opportunity and I can definitely underscore the message found on postcards and tourism posters: ***Colombia is maravillosa!***

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+ Parnell, Helga. Cooking the South American way. Minneapolis: Lerner Publications Company, 1991. (product map)

* Villegas, Benjamin and others. The Taste of Colombia. Bogota, D.C.: Villegas Editores, 1994. (recipes)

The African Presence in Colombia
Can National Identity Include Ethnic Identity?

Project: Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminar on Colombia - July 1997
Submitted by William R. Predmore
November 18, 1997

The African Presence in Colombia: Can National Identity Include Ethnic Identity?

The material that follows is my effort to raise questions and provide possibilities for exploring the various issues associated with the Afro Colombian experience. It is based upon my experience in Colombia during the summer of 1997, under a grant provided through the US. Department of Education and carried out under the auspices of the Fulbright Commission in Colombia. It is also based upon my research after returning to the United States. It is not intended to be and could not be, because of its brevity, a thorough investigation of this topic. I do believe that Colombia offers an excellent focus for the study of race relations in general. This is particularly true because of the nation's diversity of population and topography, because of the Ministry of the Environment's "national plan" aimed at developing certain regions while respecting the Black and Indian communities, and mostly because the recent constitution and the Law of Negritude of 1993 formally promote racial equality as well as the preservation of Afro Colombian and Amerindian communities.

"...men and women of Africa, and of African descent, have had one thing in common -- an experience of discrimination and humiliation imposed upon them because of their African origins. Their color was made into both a badge, and a cause of their poverty, their humiliation and their oppression." (Julius Nyerere, 1974)

"The state will promote the conditions necessary in order that equality may be real and effective and will adopt measures in favor of groups which are discriminated against or marginalized." (Article 13, Colombian Constitution of 1991)

Race Prejudice In Latin America?

In 1946 in the United States there appeared a small book entitled Slave and Citizen: the Negro in the Americas. This work by historian Frank Tannenbaum was destined to have a dramatic impact on historical writing in the United States not only because it spurred interest in the subject of comparative treatment of slavery and race relations but because of the somewhat controversial conclusions which Tannenbaum reached and advanced.

In the 1940's Tannenbaum observed the various outward signs of racism in the United States which had been institutionalized by an official policy of segregation permitted by the 19th century Supreme Court decision, Plessy vs. Ferguson. This so called "separate but equal" doctrine permitted segregation in education, lodging, eating establishments, buses, parks, beaches etc. It was also part of Tannenbaum's observation that Spanish America and Brazilian America lacked this form of "institutionalized racism." His interest took him to an exploration of the conditions of slavery during the colonial period in Western Hemispheric history.

Tannenbaum argued that the systems of slavery were different depending on the area of the New World. In Latin America this historian found that manumission was more frequent, miscegenation more common, and slave rights in general were more emphasized than in the English regions of the New World. This, he eventually concluded, was due to the strength of the Catholic Church, the tradition of the Roman slave code, and the proximity of Iberian peoples to the African continent. In the end, according to Tannenbaum the law and tradition would "make the social mobility easy and natural in one place (Latin America), difficult and slow and painful in another (English America). In Brazil and Spanish America," he continues, "the church, and custom put few impediments in the way of vertical mobility of race and class, and in some measure favored it." (127) The eventual outcome was to mean that in the United States the Black was still "struggling for moral status in the sight of the white community ... a disillusioning effort." (112)

On another continent an influential Brazilian writer, Gilberto Freyre, had and would continue to write extensively on the history of slavery in Brazil and on the state of relations between the races in contemporary Brazil. His most famous influential works would include the following: The Masters and Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization (1946), New World in the Tropics: the Culture of Modern Brazil (1959), and The Mansions and the Shanties in the Making of Modern Brazil (1963)

Freyre, while admitting to the hardships that slavery imposed on the African, argued that the plantation system allowed for considerable closeness and widespread miscegenation or racial fusion. This, along with the frequency of manumission, laid the basis for a peaceable end to slavery. Freyre further argued that in the 20th century Brazil was moving toward becoming a "racial democracy" and that a new race was being forged (often referred to as the "cosmic race."

Each of these writers should be respected both for the somewhat pioneering nature of their work but also for their noble intentions. Tannenbaum thought the United States could learn something from their Latin neighbors and Freyre encouraged Brazilians to be proud of their mixed heritage rather than embarrassed by it. Yet each has been criticized for leaving what many others have considered to be false impressions of both the slavery systems and of the post emancipation racial situations in Latin America.

In short, while many have built upon the works of both Tannenbaum and Freyre, many have been critical of their works for helping to perpetuate what are now frequently perceived as the myths of "racial harmony," "racial democracy," or "color blindness" in Latin American societies. Though most of the earlier attacks on these myths by Latin Americans came from Brazilian writers such as Abdias do Nascimento and Florestan Fernandes, a much more generalized effort to deconstruct these myths can be seen throughout the Americas, including Colombia.

"It is an open question whether a society that sees every addition of white blood as a step toward purification is more, or less prejudiced than a society that sees any appreciable trace of Negro blood as a mark of degradation."
(David Brion Davis, quoted in Wade, 295)

Colombia

A number of outside influences contributed to the emergence of an effort by Afro Colombians to resist what they regarded as racial oppression. One of these was the movement for Negritude led by the activists such as Aime Cesaire and Frantz Fanon. Fanon, for example, in Black Skin: White Masks had challenged people of African ancestry all over the world to maintain their dignity, to celebrate their own culture, and to avoid trying to act like whites. Secondly, in the United States the leadership of prominent figures such as Martin Luther King and Malcolm X had mobilized the Black community. This had resulted in the passage of civil rights acts by the mid 1960's. Finally, the liberation of many African nations south of the Sahara occurred. Meanwhile, in South Africa there was a movement which sought the liberation of Blacks from apartheid - carried forward by courageous figures like Steven Biko and Nelson Mandela.

Within Colombia, Afro Colombians began to speak out and numerous organizations were formed. One was Cimarron (the National Movement for Human Rights of Black Communities in Colombia) led by Juan de Dios Mosquera and another was the Center for the Investigation and Development of Black Culture led by Amir Smith-Cordoba. These organizations risked being charged with "racism in reverse," but they forged ahead. To these were added numerous church organization such as the Afro American Pastoral program. Subsequently, academics such as Jaime Arocha and Nina s. de Friedemann have lent their considerable energy and writing skills to the cause.

Of considerable note is the fact that the first Congress of Black Cultures in the Americas met in Cali, Colombia in August of 1977. The congress was called on the initiative of Afro Colombian physician and writer Manuel Zapata Olivella and his Peruvian colleague Jose Campos Davila. It was claimed, and is no doubt true, that this was the first time Black people in the Americas had met together in over 400 years. Blacks had been subjected to "social lynching" fumed participant Abdias do Nascimento, the Afro Brazilian activist. In Brazil, for example, for centuries Whites "held the tools of social control over the Black people" and did its best "to brainwash them and castrate their reasoning faculties" while subjecting them to "degradation and misery." (Nascimento, 8-9)

In the closing "Conclusions and Recommendations" of the congress, it was stated that "In Latin America, racial discrimination is practiced in a hidden, subtle, open or disguised form." The objective of this discrimination, it was argued, was to see the Black man disappear "through the ideology of whitening." In observing the racial situation in Colombia, it was noted that there was "an absence of just participation of the Black in the economy and politics of the country" and the element of race was used "to deny to Black people a due participation in all levels of the life of the country." (Nascimento,18)

In Colombia as elsewhere in the Americas the "Conclusions" pointed out that "colonization was an act of physical and cultural genocide carried out by Europeans against both Africans and the native Indians of America." Furthermore, the "ideology of whiteness" continued to dictate that Blacks become increasingly lighter to attain better living conditions and better employment. Such a process was equated with a cultural genocide. The congress gave a strong endorsement of the Afro Colombian and his culture and encouraged the improvement in his social, political and economic status. (Nascimento 20))

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Racial discrimination is not systematic in Colombia according to Peter Wade but there is a "basic assumption that a black person is of low social status." (Wade 205) Wade claims (and it was my observation as well) that few Blacks appear in TV advertisements or on magazine covers or on public billboards. He further notes that there are many Black stereotypes - Blacks are considered physically strong, lazy, vulgar, rustic, sexually potent, happy (dance and sing) and have rhythm. Wade adds that certain expressions can be heard. One such expression is "negro tenia que ser" ("he just had to be Black"). Another is "un mono es un mono, aunque se vista de seda" ("a monkey is still a monkey even if dressed in silk"). (205,240, 246)

Blacks most frequently hold low paying jobs or are engaged in informal employment such as street venders, domestic servants, janitors etc. Many simply cannot afford to live in the better sections of the larger cities. Are Blacks discriminated against in employment and in housing? The answer I received most of the time was "Yes." Yet most were quick to note that in Colombia there is no "institutionalized" racism. I took this to mean that there had not been anything like the official laws of segregation in the United States (Jim Crow Laws). One is left to debate what exactly is "institutionalized" racism or discrimination. If discrimination is widespread in the society, is it not institutionalized?

One way to approach this problem is to consider what Carl Degler called the "mulatto escape hatch." In Neither Black Nor White he stated: "There are only two qualities in the United States racial pattern: white and black. A person is one or the other; there is no intermediate position." (102) Blackness in the US. is, says Wade, "less easy to shake off, manipulate, mask, or equivocate with." (345) But in Latin American nations where there has been considerable mixing of the races, it is more complicated. According to Degler, the presence of the mulatto "not only spreads people of color through the society, but it literally blurs and thereby softens the line between black and white." (225) This leads to the inevitable question: who is Black?

In Colombia the process of "whitening" is referred to as "blaqueamiento." Full acceptance of Blacks has most often been conditional upon physical whitening and upon adopting non Black mores. Hence many Blacks traditionally would have tried to "marry white" and have lighter skinned children. Blacks who deliberately chose to resist "blanqueamiento" therefore challenged the national tendency and risked separating themselves - though the risk was even greater near the center than on the coast. (Wade, 61) This is the process that so many Black activists have condemned as cultural or racial genocide.

"to strengthen the unity of the nation and to ensure its members life, peaceful coexistence, work, justice, equality, knowledge, freedom, and peace within a legal, democratic, and participatory framework" (Preamble of the Constitution of 1991)

The Constitution of 1991 and the Law of 1993

The full import of the Constitution of 1991 and the Law of 1993 (Ley de Negitudes) will not be felt for many years and then it will be the task of many to judge whether it, indeed, has made much of an impact on Colombian society in terms of promoting racial equality and helping to preserve Afro Colombian and Amerindian communities. But, for the present, it has stirred excitement in many quarters and is certainly worthy of considerable national and international attention.

Following are the most relevant sections for the topic under consideration:

Article 7 - "The state recognizes and protects ethnic and cultural diversity within the nation of Colombia."

Article 13 "All persons are born free and equal before the law and will receive the same protection and treatment by the authorities and will enjoy the same rights, liberties and opportunities without discrimination regardless of gender, race, national origin, language, religion, or political opinion or philosophy.

The state will promote the conditions necessary in order that equality may be real and effective and will adopt measures in favor of groups which are discriminated against or marginalized."

Transitory Article 55

This article provides for a commission to draw up a law which will recognize collective property rights for black communities that have traditionally occupied untitled lands "tierras baldias (public or state lands) in the riverine zones of the Pacific Basin". The article further states that the law should provide mechanisms for the protection of the cultural identity" while promoting "the economic and social development of these communities."

In accordance with Transitory Article #55, a special law was developed, commonly called Law 70 of 1993 (Ley 70 de 1993 or Ley de Negritudes). The adoption of this law prompted the prolific writer and promoter of Afro Colombian culture and history, Nina de Friedemann to publish her work Presencia Africana en Colombia: La Saga del Negro. Declaring that this work was published with the "objective of celebrating the Law of 1993," she argued that the law "gives legitimacy to the historical and socio-ethnic identity for the descendants of those Africans who came to Colombia beginning 500 year ago." (7)

Friedemann used this opportunity to pay homage to the Afro Colombians for their physical labor in building Colombia and for their numerous contributions, including music (musica tropical), dance, songs, language and religion - the "imprints of Mother Africa." This law she asserted meant that now the Afro Colombian and his culture had legitimacy while in the past the African had no choice but to "whiten" if he wanted to become an effective part of Colombian society. Mestizaje, Friedemann argued, had not really been a true "mixing" since the process generally meant that indigenous and black people had to become Europeanized (blanqeamiento). It never had meant that Europeans had to become partly African and party Amerindian. Mestizaje, therefore, could now be recognized for what it was, as an ideology of discrimination which resulted in making "invisible" (Friedemann's term) the African's history, culture, and rights. (99-100) In this sense, the constitution and Law 70 can be said to have "rescued" diversity in Colombia.

There are, however, many who are less enthusiastic. The task of carrying out this new philosophy is a difficult one and several problems exist. For example the question could be raised as to whether the promotion of separate Black communities is compatible with a strong nation. Colombia already has major problems that divide the nation and the question is whether the emphasis on ethnic differences or multiculturalism will further complicate an already difficult situation. In my own nation, the well known historian, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., has worried about this same direction. In his work The Disuniting of America, he has noted that the "ethnic upsurge has had some healthy consequences ... recognition to the role and achievements of groups subordinated and ignored during the noon of male Anglo-Saxon dominance." But Schlesinger warns that "the cult of ethnicity, pressed too far, exacts costs. (p. 2) In other words, when does multiculturalism serve to divide rather than unify and when does multiculturalism pass into a new kind of ethnocentrism?

There are other considerations. Unlike Amerindians who were original inhabitants and who have traditionally accepted "resguardos," Afro Colombian "communities" are often difficult to exactly define. The question remains as to which communities should be given special attention and what kind of rights should go with this special attention. Meanwhile each community has to go through the process of attaining "collective property land titles."

Overall, the Colombian situation (and all of Latin America) is surrounded by so much ambiguity and deceptiveness, that pursuing policies like those in the United States may be difficult, if not impossible. Many, therefore, have wanted to concentrate mostly on certain areas where the Black population is high. When it comes to promoting Black rights in general, how can the government aid Blacks as individuals when so many are trying to pass as white and are in so many different positions in society. Also protecting, or emphasizing, Black identity can go both ways - it can help or it can create antagonism. Says Peter Wade, "to push black solidarity or positive discrimination too far or too blindly, risks engendering antagonism." (350))

Again, in Colombia and elsewhere in Latin America one faces the problem of defining who is Black - what Wade calls the "structural ambiguity." (355-356) There are obviously black communities (certainly in the Choco) and there is a larger Black community that exists. But who is included? There are Blacks who refuse to admit they are Black and many mulattos who reject their Black heritage in favor of blanqueamiento. Does the existence of a universal Black community compromise the nation's view of itself and threaten the national identity. So the question remains as to how to improve the condition of Afro Colombians and to credit their accomplishments without further dividing the nation.

For added complexity, the constitution declares that "property must be exercised as a social function to which the ecological function is inextricably linked." One concludes, therefore, that while Afro Colombian communities and indigenous communities are to be protected and given special rights, the exercise of these rights is also linked to "developing "practices of conservation and management that are compatible with the ecological conditions." (National Environmental Plan, 31,32) Presumably, practices not compatible with sustainable development (development which takes responsibility for future inhabitants) can be discouraged or prevented by the government.

With this in mind, government agencies, working in concert with Afro Colombian communities, are obligated to carry out "activities of research, training, promotion, extension and transfer of appropriate technologies for the sustainable ecological, cultural, social, and economic use of the natural resources, in order to strengthen their cultural and economic heritage." (32) Considering the commitment to a plan of resource management, an outcome which supports these traditional communities while managing to fulfill the needs and desires of the rest of the country may prove to be very difficult to achieve.

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The Relationship Between The New Constitution, Human Rights, And Education

Independent Project
by
Dr. Dennis J. Ritchie

for the
1997 Fulbright-Hays Seminar
"Colombia, Many Countries In One: Economic Growth, Environmental Sustainability, Sociocultural Divergence and Biodiversity. Profile and Paradox"

Introduction

I am a social work educator in my 19th year as a full time college or university faculty member. As the only social worker participating in this Fulbright-Hays Seminar I want to begin this report by presenting a brief overview of my background and the interests and goals I had when I entered this seminar.

My interest in and commitment to cultivating an international understanding stem from my recognition that I live in a pluralistic society which reflects a multicultural world. We, the people of the world, can celebrate our differences while recognizing and acknowledging our commonalities as well. We are all interconnected and interrelated in a global context!

Some 24 years ago I had my first overseas experience, spending four months traveling by myself around Western Europe and Morocco. I returned to the United States with the resolve to become a social worker. My experience had reinforced my desire to pursue a professional career that was people-oriented and dedicated to celebrating human diversity and promoting social justice. I have successfully pursued this ambition for more than two decades now. However, to a large extent, up until 1992, my focus had become more locally, somewhat societally, and less globally oriented. I focused on my own society's cultural pluralism and obstacles to social equity. My interests evolved into my second overseas experience, occurring two decades after my first. Again, it was a profound experience of both a personal and professional nature. I was granted a sabbatical leave for the 1992-1993 academic year. My family (wife and two young children) and I lived in Costa Rica from July 1992 to July 1993. That year in Costa Rica afforded me several stimulating and challenging professional opportunities. My wife and I served as volunteer consultants to the Ministry of Education and worked collaboratively with other governmental agencies and nongovernmental organizations to develop a program to teach disabilities awareness while promoting positive attitudes toward and social integration of people with disabilities. Additionally, I held a part time appointment as a visiting professor with the School of Social Work at the University of Costa Rica and served as consultant with the Inter-American Institute for Human Rights (focusing on anti-bias curriculum development and linkages between social work and human rights). These professional experiences proved to be extremely rewarding. Although confident that I was able to make worthwhile contributions to the programs, colleagues, and students with whom I worked, I was struck by the discovery of how very much I could learn from them. For example, in my field of social work, I learned that Latin American social workers and schools, as evidenced by *the Reconceptualization Movement*, have a rich tradition of conceptualization and intervention aimed at promoting social change and social justice through holistic approaches emphasizing praxis, an integration of theory and practice.

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Interview of Dr. Rafael Campos, Dean of the School of Education at Javeriana University, Bogota, Colombia

R. Campos (RC): The new constitution is really a very interesting document, to begin with, because of the way it was written and approved, the whole movement to change the constitution. It is in contrast to what happens in all of the rest of the Latin American countries which are used to having very frequent changes of constitutions. In Colombia, we had our constitution since 1886. So, by the end of the 80s we had more than 100 years, and that is really unusual in Latin America. At the end of the 80s there was a student movement, which is really strange that it started in a private university here in Bogota, one of the oldest universities in Colombia. This student movement proposed that in the next election in 1988 or 89, we should include a question to whether or not the people wanted a change of constitution.

D. Ritchie (DR): Like a referendum.

RC: Yes, like a referendum. So when the referendum was approved, a group of about 75 people came together representing a wide variety of not only of political views but of social groups; of religious groups; of regions of the countries; and also ethnic groups which was amazing. Indians and Black groups which are in the jungle next to Panama were called to be part of this group. So they came together and they deliberated for several months, six months or so, maybe a little more. There was a lot of debate, but really interesting, in a country like Colombia that is quite unusual especially when you think of another characteristic that we have had in our country for so many decades which is the violent confrontation of political parties and more recently of guerilla movements. So this idea was accepted and started from this kind of group. Then the group was assembled and then they deliberated and their debates were broadcast through television so that everybody could see what was being said. That was really amazing. Finally, the constitution was approved on July 4, 1991. Our older constitution, the one in 1886, was a very, very conservative document, which at the time really was approved as a reaction to liberal radical movements. So it was really conservative, very conservative, very much to the right. But, this new constitution is the opposite of that, it is a very democratic constitution in which about 50 articles or so, almost the first 50 articles of 300 and some that the constitution has, were drafted in reference to

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human rights, and that is another thing, quite unusual. (Actually it is more like 80 of the 380 articles.) The human rights that are included there include things like children are the most important citizens in the country, or the rights of children are more important then the rights of any other citizen. I think that is the way it is drafted.

You will see there also the right to assemble, to speak, to property, to education for instance. Education became a right. And they were right because the right we had in the older constitution was the right to teach, for somebody to have an institution, to offer education, but not the right to learn and to pursue the development of your own personality, because that's the way the constitution says it, that any citizen in Colombia has the right to freely pursue the development of his own or her own personality with the only limit of the common good.

DR: Not to be at the expense of the common good.

RD: That is the only limit, but otherwise you have the right to do that. And something that has been very important beyond the principle but in practice is that in that constitution was approved a legal mechanism by which anybody that thinks that his human rights, his basic rights have been precluded can go to a judge without the need of a lawyer and he or she can write on a piece of paper his or her complaint saying that I think my basic right to whatever, education, to have a job, whatever, have been denied, and the judge is obligated to answer that demand in 10 days. Could you imagine, in a country were legal processes can take years.

DR: Is that the acción de tutela?

RD: Yes! It's amazing. In Colombia, in practice, this is the way in which many people that didn't have any chance to do something about the violation of their rights are doing it now. Of course, what we also see is that many people are also taking advantage of the mechanism while the whole thing gets really institutionalized. My wife is a judge and she tells me that she gets about 5 a day, which is a lot because you multiply that by the number of judges. Out of the 5 maybe 2 persons really have a reason to do it. The others are just trying to see if they can get away with something. In practice, really, there wasn't any other way either, because it was very difficult or very expensive to get a lawyer or whatever that people could do something about the violation of their rights. So, what I am trying to say is that not only is it amazing that in the constitution this kind of principles were included, some people say that--too many, or too detailed, it could be, it could be that there are too many, I don't know. But, in a country where really there is a need to promote and practice human rights I don't think there are too many, at least while this becomes a way of life which is what I was trying to express in the few words that I said the other day, "This is kind of a dream, really it is a dream--it's like the Colombia dream--the kind of society we want to be." But just the fact that we were able to write it and to approve it, I think is an amazing step. As I say so many times to my students, "If you're going to judge the constitution we have by how much it reflects Colombian society you can say that it is a useless document." Of course, Colombian society is not like that constitution. Many times countries write a constitution which reflect what they are: their traditions, their way of life. The only thing the constitutions do then is to make that a legal document and the value of that type of constitution is that it's like a synthesis of what people believe, of what people do. Our constitution is not like that. Our constitution, in many, many ways, is just the opposite of what you see happening all the time in the streets. For instance, the constitution in its first article says something like "Colombia is democratic, a republic, with human liberties, with solidarity, with respect for everybody's beliefs". Of course, it is not like that. But, the value of the constitution I would say is just that, that it doesn't resemble Colombian society to a large extent. So it is really an ideal. But, finally we have an ideal to pursue, finally we have a dream. It is like in the 19th century, you know, the American Dream. In the 19th century the American Dream wasn't true, of course, it wasn't true. But then it gave the people enough, something to live toward and I think it is the real value. But, the only way that the dream is going to become true, really, is through education because it is the only way you can make that all those principles really become a way of being. They may become part of the collective consciousness of the people. So you see after 6 years of the new constitution that we have there have been some attempts to change it, to take out some articles. Can you imagine to measure in 5 years whether or not the constitution is good. But we have had that. But the amazing thing is that none of those attempts have succeeded and I think something that has helped a lot, but really a lot, is that one of the institutions that was approved in the new constitution is a Constitutional Court. This Constitutional Court is in charge of interpreting the constitution. That is its only job, to interpret the constitution because besides that we have a Supreme Court which has the usual job of finally deciding on the most difficult cases.

DR: That's not the court that hears the acciónes de tutelas?

RC: The acciónes de tutelas begin with the judges but they can be appealed and then on second chance they go into regional tribunals and then some of them, the most difficult cases, go finally to the Constitutional Court. But that is not the only job, they really have to interpret the constitution in general. They really have been wise in doing that because you know general principles can be interpreted so many ways. But these 20 some judges are there and have been, I would say more than anything else, have been doing a pedagogical job. They have assumed their job in such a way that it is not only a legal interpretation but more than that they are showing the way, like guiding this society into adopting new ways of negotiating conflict, ways in which these rights can be really implemented. So, I think in terms of human rights, especially on human rights, the decisions of this court are really something to study. The way they have interpreted these things in cases which are difficult to decide, because one thing is all the pressure to keep doing things the way we have been doing them, and they have had the courage, many times, even though there is a lot of pressure not to change, they have done it, they say no. If we really have a new constitution we should live up to it.

DR: What do you see as the implications for the School of Education and how you see this new constitution informing the School of Education. Also, do you see that happening, a reconceptualization across Schools of Education, or yours is different?

RC: No, no, this is quite different. O.K. let me contextualize. The university closed the School of Education in 1988 and the reason why it was closed, it was because the programs were really old and with no capacity to innovate and teachers were trained in a very traditional way which is the way in which, in general, Schools of Education in Colombia are, and they still are. The most specific reason was that teachers were not coming out properly trained, I mean not knowing enough about their specific area of learning like if they were going to be chemistry teachers, or geography teachers, or religion teachers. So the university decided that the best thing to do in that situation was to send these programs to the department where the teachers could learn the discipline very, very well and then they would have some pedagogical education courses. But, really because of the type of university Javeriana is, which is a very humanistic university, humanities are really a strong part of the curriculum. People were not happy. This is a terrible contradiction. How can we have a humanistic university and not have a School of Education. So there was a lot of debate in '91, '92, '93 and finally the Board of Trustees approved to reopen in the University the School of

Education. They asked me to make a proposal, how it would be. I mean something that really could be different to what other universities have in the country and also to what we have had before. So, I made this proposal and it was approved.

So, let's say there were two or three basic ideas that I proposed and that we were trying to work toward. They are, to begin with, the idea that the fundamental reason or goal, let's say of education, is not to transmit knowledge, it is to promote human development and an integral view of the person. Now, if to do that, knowledge helps, fine, but the thing is that knowledge is not always a positive ingredient of human behavior. That is the problem. So many times, knowledge, instead of making people more ethical or a more complete human being...what knowledge does is to facilitate all kinds of aggressions. So, knowledge cannot be by itself a value. It depends. So, that is the basic idea that what we are really interested in thinking about, researching about, and trying to train a teacher that before anything else he's concerned with human development and that if he has to teach reading or writing or physical education it is only a means toward that goal. The problem with that is that, in general, our curriculums are organized not by dimensions of human development but by areas of knowledge.

DR: Like the content areas?

RC: You have Social Sciences, you have Health Sciences, you have Humanities. If we were really doing it right we should organize our curricula by the dimensions of human development. Let's say the intellectual development, the intellectual dimension, the physical, the corporal dimension, the spiritual dimension, the emotional dimension, and then you put there some subjects that could in one way or another promote one of these areas. But, our schools still are not organized that way. That is like the basic principle, education makes sense in any human culture, basically to promote human development. The second idea is that even though pedagogy is the key discipline in education, it is very important, the only way to really understand education, especially as a basic component of human culture, is from an interdisciplinary point of view. So you need in a School of Education not only educators, not only people that have been trained as teachers, you need sociologists, psychologists, social workers, administrators, philosophers, and that is what we are doing at the School of Education.

DR: Interdisciplinary faculty and curriculum?

RC: Yes. So out of the 40 professors that we have at the school, only about 8 of them are trained in their undergraduate studies as educators, went to a School of Education. The rest of them are like me. I mean I studied Sociology and I only came into education later on as a personal concern more than a professional concern. So that is like the second basic idea that guides the school. Very close to this idea of viewing education as an interdisciplinary field, is an idea of trying to make sense of what education means for humans, from a cultural point of view, more than anything else. Education can be viewed as a way to promote economic production or to get a job. Yes, that is very important. It could be viewed as a way to socialize the people into respecting norms, laws, and that is very important. But, for us, education is more than anything else the way to become more human. Culture which makes us human needs to be transmitted and more than anything else educational processes need to be renovated, not only through schools of course: especially in the modern world. Let's say mass media can perform these jobs of educating people. Political institutions can also educate people. So, when we talk about education we don't think of it only in the institutionalized way. We don't think about education only of what happens in the schools, but in the family, in the group of friends, in the street. So, in a sense all of us are teachers and all of us are students, all the time, in one way or another. So we want to think of education in these broad perspectives as a cultural process more than just as an institution. That is why when we think of economic development, yes of course we have to have a way to produce more, to sell more, to buy more. Yes, fine, that is part of the bargain, but in the last 200 years our capacity to produce knowledge has increased I don't know how many folds and our capacity to produce goods has increased so many, many times and despite that, we still have some basic problems of how to live together. It is not a question of survival, I mean, it is more than a question of survival, it is a question of how to live together. So, there is more to human development than economic and political development and human development, we think, has a lot to do especially with what education can do to promote values, to promote a way of being better. All of the time we hear that we should know more, that we should be able to do more. Yes, those are important things. But what we think is that we should be able to be better, and as I said before not all being better means knowing more or being able to do more. So we are trying to think in that direction and trying to form a new kind of teacher that will think that way, that when he is in front of his children, or adolescents or adult students will keep that in mind more than anything else. So, it implies a radical change in the way we train teachers and in the philosophy behind it. What we are trying to do now at the school is trying to develop the type of curriculum that will enable us to do this. That is our priority now. Now we know what we believe and what our ideals of education are, but, how do we do it now, in practice? Next year we will have 30 or 40 new students. O.K., what will we do? What kind of experiences should they have? What kind of modelling should we do in front of them as teachers? What kind of curriculum processes should we have to do this.

DR: Have you come up with any answers yet, or beginning answers? The role of education from what I'm hearing you describe is a very holistic conceptualization of education.

RC: Let's say, Dennis, that we have some ideas. For instance, in the curriculum you are developing about 45% of it, of the activities, are in practice, in opportunities going to schools.

DR: Practicum?

RC: Practicum, yes, but combined all the time with opportunities to reflect on that.

DR: In Social Work in Latin America there is a term, a concept, PRAXIS. I'm wondering if it's relevant and if it relates to education too--PRAXIS? Are you familiar with that?

RC: It has something to do with it. But, let's say when we talk about PRAXIS more than anything else it is like a way to relate very closely theory with practice. PRAXIS means that you have a very, very, closely related theory with what you do. We make more emphasis than the concept of PRAXIS makes on the reflection that you have to have, not only on what you do, but on what you are, and especially on what you are becoming through what you do. That's what you think.

DR: Say that again, that's very powerful.

RC: The concept of PRAXIS relates basically what you do with what you think, theory with behavior. We want to focus the reflection of the students on those two things but more basically on what is happening to you as a human person through what you are doing and what you are thinking because our idea is the only way you really can make a lasting, deep impact on your students is not only by what you do in class, you can do many things, or by what you say in class, but by what you show.

DR: How you interact?

RC: How you are. Especially by how you interact. Basically, by what you are as a person. The basic idea is that we humans learn many, many, different ways, by trial and error, by so many ways. But, the most profound and qualitative changes that we can make, have to do with identifying with a certain ideal or a certain person. So, as a teacher, if you are not able to generate this kind of learning processes which has to do with the students identifying with you, by what you are, you are not touching the most profound layers of their consciousness. So, if you want to become a teacher, of course you have to learn certain things that you are willing to teach and you have to know how to manage resources in the classroom. But, more than that, you have to work on yourself. So, this 45% of the time, that the students are going to spend visiting schools and reflecting on what that experience means, is oriented toward this type of thinking.

DR: It is an emphasis on self reflection and towards self awareness and self understanding.

RC: Transformation. That's like a basic tenet. Another idea that we had is the interaction process is at the core of what you can do as a teacher. You may know a lot of math and your students may learn also a lot of math, because you know and you can explain it. But, more important than that, if you're teaching math or if you're are teaching geography, in terms of personality development, what is important is the kind of relationship that you are able to establish with your students and not only cognitively but affectionately.

DR: Affectively?

RC: Yes. So, quite an important part of the curriculum is dedicated to learning about human interaction, especially human interaction between teacher and students. But, not only that--other types of human interactions to be able to contrast, other types of relationships and human interactions at the organizational level. And we have what we call an ecological approach which is what you mentioned. The ecological approach to human interaction. So, quite a bit of the curriculum is centered on this. We think that the interaction between teacher and a student is very similar to other types of interactions. Sometimes we say well, teachers are like parents, fine. Or teachers are like mothers, o.k. that's fine. But the question that really intrigued us by now is what is the essence of the relationship between teacher and a student? What is specific to that type of relationship? We are trying to research on that. For instance, something that is very peculiar to a teacher/student relationship is that most human relationships when they finish it is because they fail, most of them. If you have a friendship, or if you have a marriage, something went wrong.

DR: That's why they end.

RC: That's why they end. But, if a teacher/student relationship doesn't finish it's because you fail.

DR: It's a time limited relationship.

RC: Yes. Not only that it is time limited, but you worked toward that, because sometimes yes it is just a matter of time that things happen. For instance, a business relationship, many times it is just a relationship for a period of time, but you are not working toward finishing it. Your intention is not to finish it, just that it happens, because, o.k. the business was completed. But, if from the first moment that you enter into this type of relationship with a student you don't work toward the moment when that student will no longer need you as a guide, you are not doing your job. That is a very peculiar characteristic that we should take seriously. Because if we take it seriously I'm sure we will do many things that we're not doing. But, this is the second basic component of the program. The other one is that instead of teaching our students how to teach reading, or how to teach history, or how to teach writing, what we do is that is we have courses on, for instance, ethical social development which is a dimension of the development of children which we think is important. In that course we see how from the perspective of history, or geography, or math you can promote that type of human dimension. So, the focus of the course is a given human dimension that we want to promote. It could be the corporal or affective dimension. So, therefore, the students see how, for instance, through music they can promote corporal development because they can dance. So, what we're trying to do is to put in their minds the idea that I mentioned before that the curriculum should be organized by human dimensions that we want to promote and not by the subjects. The subjects can vary a lot and sometimes you can use some of them for one purpose and another moment for another purpose. You can use history, for instance, to promote logical thinking, fine, then you use history for that. But you could use history also to exemplify a spiritual development, to make examples of how certain leaders of the world have had that dimension. So, that is another basic carrier, and another basic carrier of the curriculum is the area that has to do with the relationship between culture and human development so what we have there is an overview of different theories of human development viewed from a cultural perspective. For instance, we have Piaget. We try to approach Piaget's ideas from what they may teach us about the role of culture in human development. Or we can take Freud, for instance, and do something similar. So, those are the four basic areas of the curriculum: 45% on practice and reflection, and what it means for you; and the other three pretty much divided in similar percentages between a reflection on interaction processes, a reflection on dimensions of human development, and a reflection on the relationship between culture and processes of human development. That is the curriculum that we have now.

COLOMBIA: MODEL FOR THE STUDY OF LATIN AMERICA IN THE INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE CURRICULUM

SUBMITTED BY

DR. BARBARA SCHINDLER

COLOMBIA: MODEL FOR THE STUDY OF LATIN AMERICA IN THE INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE CURRICULUM

This unit of study is intended for use in schools that follows the International Baccalaureate (IB) curriculum. Over 600 member schools in 80 countries throughout the world follow the guidelines set by the International Baccalaureate Organization (IBO) which is based in Geneva, Switzerland, with administrative offices in New york, Buenos Aires, and Singapore. These guidelines prepare students to take the IB tests. Only schools officially approved by the IBO are authorized to offer the curriculum and to present candidates for examination.

In order to fully understand the comprehensive nature of the study, this paper begins with a general explanation of the program and ends with a specific curriculum. The curriculum design given below uses the following format:

(1) Design of the curriculum for schools following the International Baccalaureate program.

(2) investigation of the social studies component of the curriculum which is known as Individuals and Societies.

(3) Analysis of the unit plan for the study of Latin America with special emphasis on the study of Colombia.

(4) Sample daily lesson plan.

THE INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE DESIGN

The International Baccalaureate program is a comprehensive and rigorous two-year curriculum leading to examinations for students usually at the completion of their senior year in high school. The IB Diploma curriculum consists of six subject groups:

(1) Language A1: First language, including the study of selections from World Literature.

(2) Language A2: Second modern language

(3) Individuals and Societies: History, Geography, Economics, Philosophy, Psychology, Social Anthropology, Business and Organization, Information Technology in a Global Society

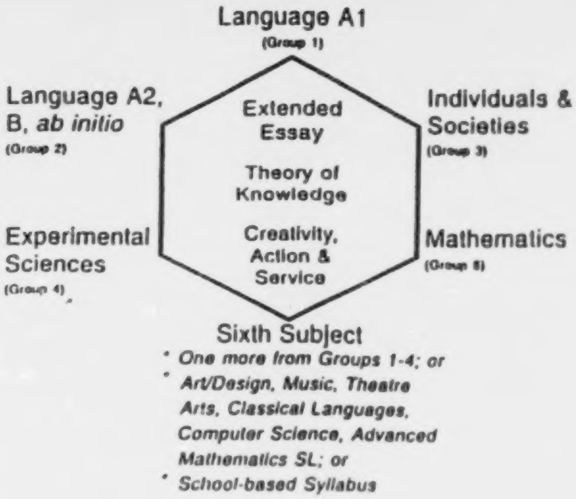
(4) Experimental Sciences: Biology, Chemistry, Applied Chemistry, Physics, Environmental Systems, Design Technology.

(5) Mathematics: Mathematical Studies, Mathematical Methods, Advanced Mathematics

(6) Electives

Other components of the program include the Extended Essay of some 4000 words which provides the first experience of the independent research paper; a course entitled Theory of Knowledge (ToK) which explores the relationships among the various disciplines and ensures that students engage in critical reflections and analysis of the knowledge acquired within and beyond the classroom; and the compulsory participation in CAS-Creativity Action and Service to the community.

The model, given below, pictures the six areas of study that encompass the IB curriculum.


Language A1
(Group 1)
Language A2, B, *ab initio*
(Group 2)
Individuals & Societies
(Group 3)
Experimental Sciences
(Group 4)
Mathematics
(Group 5)
Extended Essay
Theory of Knowledge
Creativity, Action & Service
Sixth Subject
• One more from Groups 1-4; or
• Art/Design, Music, Theatre Arts, Classical Languages, Computer Science, Advanced Mathematics SL; or
• School-based Syllabus

All IB Diploma candidates are required to offer one subject from each of the groups, e.g. history in Individuals and Societies. At least three and not more than four of the six subjects are taken at Higher Level, the others at Subsidiary Level. The Higher Level programs are constructed to occupy 240 teaching hours and the Subsidiary Level occupies 150 hours. Each examined subject is graded on a scale of 1 to 7. The award of the Diploma requires a minimum total of 24 points and the satisfactory completion of the Extended Essay, Theory of Knowledge, and the Creativity, Action, and Service.

Each area of study has specific goals some of which are general in nature and some that are more specific to the subject studied. In the section Individual and Societies, the general aims of the study will be discussed, as well as a more specific analysis of the history component.

INDIVIDUALS AND SOCIETIES

The area of study, Individuals and Societies, includes eight subjects, history, geography, economics, philosophy, psychology, social anthropology, business and organization, and information technology in a global society. The student selects one of these areas for an in-depth study in order to be prepare for the examination. Realistically, the student can choose only from the offerings of the school which he/she attends.

Since most IB schools do not have the resources to offer the IB program in all eight of the social studies programs listed above, the aims of Individuals and Societies are general and applicable to all programs. These aims are to:

(1) study critically and systematically human experience and behavior, the varieties of physical and social environments in which we live, and the history and development of the social and cultural institutions which we have created;

(2) develop in the student the capacity to identify, to analyze critically and to evaluate major theories concerning the nature and understanding of the individual and society, as well as concepts, arguments and research findings in the field of social studies;

(3) study the various methods of description and analysis employed in social studies disciplines and the ways in which hypotheses are tested and complex data may be interpreted;

(4) appreciate the ways in which what has been learned is relevant to both the culture in which the student lives and those

of other societies.

The focus of the Individual and Societies study is the history component. The history curriculum is further divided into two areas, the History of Europe and the History of the Americas. The course of study chosen at Classen School for Advanced Studies in Oklahoma City and generally chosen by most of the IB schools in the United States is the History of the Americas. This course of study covers two years which prepares students to sit for the Higher Level IB exam in this subject.

Below are given the objectives for Year 1 (Junior) and Year 2 (Senior) for the History of the Americas. These objectives convey the information that must be taught in order for the student to be successful in the IB examination. About one-third of these objectives deal with Latin America. Below are listed the objectives for the eleventh and twelfth grades.

Students will:

*Analyze the reasons for European settlement and evaluate these reasons in relation to the success or failure of their efforts to establish permanent colonies.

*Study the impact of slavery upon the northern and Southern economic systems.

*Describe Colonial society in the mid-eighteenth century.

*Describe the process of writing the United States Constitution and compare the United States Constitution with the constitution of selected Latin American countries.

*Analyze the revolutions in North America, Haiti, and South

America and compare their similarities and differences.

*Explain the sectional conflict and other issues contributing to the Civil War in the United States.

*Analyze the significance of the political, the economic, and the social impact of the U. S. Civil War and Reconstruction.

*Describe the growth of the West and its effect on the American way of life after the Civil War.

*Explain the impact of the Industrial Revolution on Business and on social conditions in the United States of America.

*Analyze the political, the economic, and the social reform movements which began in the nineteenth century.

*Explain factors leading to the emergence of the U. S. A. as a world power.

*Describe the relationships between the United States and Latin America and the United States and Canada.

*Examine the involvement of the countries of North and South America in the First World War.

*Discuss the growth of slavery in the U. S. in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the end of slavery, and the beginning of the civil rights movement in the U. S.

*Examine the treatment of minority, indigenous, and immigrant populations in North and South America.

*Compare the growth of the women's movement in countries of North and South America.

Objectives for Year 2 of the History of the Americas are given below.

*Analyze the causes, practices, and effects of the First World War.

*Compare the European responses to political problems in the interwar period.

*Examine the depression of the 1930s in North America, South America, and Europe.

*Analyze the long-term effect of economic policies adopted during Franklin Roosevelt's administration.

*Investigate the causes and effects of World War II.

*Examine the reasons for the Cold War in the United States and Europe.

*Analyze causes and outcomes of revolutions in Latin America.

*Discuss the coincidence of revolutions in Africa, Asia, and Latin America after 1945.

The IB written examinations are given over a five hour period and are only one component of the total scoring situation; three papers are also included as part of the total grade. The IB tests are composed of a number of questions, several dealing with Latin America. Below are the questions specifically pertaining to Latin America in the examination given in 1994. The complete examination is given in the addendum.

Question 2. Why did revolution occur in the United States in 1776 and not until after 1800 in Latin America?

Question 3. Discuss the role of leadership in the formation of new governments in two countries of the region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Question 9. Around what issues did political parties form in Latin America in the nineteenth century? With reference to two countries, explain the differences and similarities in issues and parties.

Question 11. Why was Panama the last republic in the region to gain independence and how did this occur?

Question 12. What were the basic economic problems of two Latin American countries in the first half of the twentieth century and how did they attempt to solve them?

Question 16. Discuss the role of the military in two Latin American countries from 1945 to 1980.

Higher Level IB examinations in Individuals and Societies assume a general knowledge of Latin America, but a specific knowledge of two countries. The two countries that the student chooses to study can be the basis of one or two of the three research papers required in the subject area.

UNIT FOR THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAS

Although a general knowledge of Latin America is necessary in order to complete the requirements for the two year study of the History of the Americas, special attention needs to focus on two countries of Latin America. One of the countries selected is Colombia because of its rich history, its unique position in relationship to the other countries, its economic and biodiversity, and the need to understand complex political situations. The unit about Colombia, described below, takes approximately two weeks to complete.

Colombia

Objectives:

At the completion of this unit, the student will be able to:

* Locate and identify the major landforms and bodies of water.

*Describe the major regions of Colombia including climate, agriculture, flora, and fauna.

*Understand the impact that the conquistadors had on pre-Columbian societies.

*Trace the growth of colonial Colombia to the eve of the Revolution.

*Contrast the revolution in Colombia with the revolution in the United States which took place 30 years earlier.

*Analyze the struggle for power between the Liberal and Conservative parties in the nineteenth century.

* Discuss the violent actions of both parties as they aim to seek control of the political scene.

*Analyze the role of the military since 1945 in efforts to keep order in the countryside, the cities, and during political elections.

* Describe the present day economic situation in Colombia.

* Analyze Colombian trade relationships between the United States and Colombia.

*Discuss social issues, including education, indigenous people, religious influence, and social services.

*Discuss current political issues.

*Examine the negative public relations image of Colombia.

Methodology:

1. Read text and supporting materials gathered from the library.
2. Divide into discussion groups and deal with specific areas such as political situations, contrasting ideology, and importance of Colombian rainforests to the world.
3. Simulation game: "What are the Economic Functions of Government."
4. Research paper 1 or 2 on some aspect of Colombia.
5. Lecture and questioning for comprehension.
6. Speakers on subjects such as global warming, greenhouse effect, importance of the rainforest.
7. Slides provided by the Fulbright Commission in Colombia.
8. Map work

Materials:

Text: A History of Latin America by Benjamin Keen

Slides and accompanying information from the Fulbright Commission in Colombia.

Daily journal notes and handouts acquired as a result of the Fulbright seminar in Colombia in the summer of 1997.

Articles from the internet and the libraries.

Evaluation:

Paper 1 dealing with some aspect of Colombia.

Tests both subjective and objective

Daily participation.

UNIT PLAN BY DAYS

Day 1: Lecture, Introduction to Colombia

Distribute Outline Map. Identify regions, landforms, bodies of water.

Slides of Colombia showing regions, flora, fauna

Day 2: Discussion of the ecological importance of Colombia.

A representative of the Sierra Club will discuss global warming and the greenhouse effect.

A short film produced by the Sierra Club will be shown.

Day 3: Lecture concerning indigenous tribes.

Slides of pre-Columbian artifacts

Discussion of Conquistadors. Question discussed: "What was the difference between the subjugation of the Incas and the indigenous people of Colombia."

Day 4: Lecture about the colonial era and the prelude to the revolution.

Divide class into discussion groups. Question addressed: "Compare the pre-revolutionary situation in the United States with the situation in Colombia."

Day 5: Group presentations of the question addressed above.

Discuss research projects and papers.

Day 6: Lecture: Revolution

Readings about neo-Colombia

Compare in assigned groups the situations in the United States and Latin America after the revolutions.

Day 7: Discuss the group assignment.

Discuss the research project/paper.

Dismiss class for research in the library.

Day 8: Library research continued.

Day 9: Review information previously discussed.

Day 10: Objective and subjective test over materials discussed. Map test over landforms and bodies of water.

Day 11: Lecture: Establishment of Political parties.

Divide the class into discussion groups, half of the groups analyzing the conservative cause and the other half investigating the liberal viewpoints.

Day 12: Group presentations.

Day 13: Discussion of the violence at the turn of the century.

In groups the students discuss the concept of "violence" and think of historical examples and reasons for violence.

Day 14: Political Violence and Civil War: Lecture

Readings about the causes of violence in Colombia.

Day 15: Lecture: "The Evil Twins", the paramilitary and the guerrillas. Discussion.

Day 16: Written Test: Several questions, one-half class period.

Lecture: Current Economic Situation

Day 17: Reading from the Internet concerning the current trade situation. On an outline map of Colombia (students have already used this), students will place symbols where goods are produced. Students will also make a chart of the volume of trade by listing Colombia's exports.

Day 18: Simulation: "What Are the Economic Functions of Government?" The objectives of this simulation are (1) to identify the six economic functions of government; classify examples of government actions and policies within various economic functions; and identify and evaluate two different positions on the role of government in the economy.

Day 19: Discuss various topics concerning the people, occupations, status of women, race, land settlement. Review for unit test.

Day 20: Unit Test. Objective and subjective.

Papers are due in a week. No other classtime will be allotted to the development of the IB paper.

DAY ONE LESSON PLAN

Objectives:

Students will be able to

*Identify the 5 major regions of Colombia

*Identify the landforms and bodies of water.

*Infer the type of climate in the 5 major regions by looking at latitude lines and elevation.

*Identify the types of flora and fauna that are prevalent in the 5 major regions.

Methodology:

An introduction to Colombia, lasting about 15 minutes, will be given to introduce the topic.

Outline maps will be distributed with instructions about labeling the landforms and bodies of water. The five regions will also be drawn in.

After showing slides of landforms, flora, and fauna of the various regions, the students will be asked to match the landforms, flora, and fauna to the region.

An extra credit question will be written on the board which will ask the students to indicate the climate of the 5 regions. After the papers are given to the teacher, the answers will be discussed.

Materials:

Outline map of Colombia

Atlas

Slides provided by the Colombian Fulbright Commission.

Evaluation:

A map test is given on Day Ten in conjunction with the objective and written test.

CONCLUSION

The preceding curriculum can be used effectively to prepare the students for the IB test in May. Classen School for Advanced Studies in Oklahoma City is basically following the curriculum outlined above.

This writer is currently teaching at the University of Oklahoma although when the outline of this proposal was presented several years ago, I was employed at the Oklahoma City Public Schools as the Social Studies Supervisor and a teacher of advanced courses at the Classen School for Advanced Studies.

When Classen applied for membership in the International Baccalaureate, I wrote the application portion that dealt with Individuals and Societies. I combined my knowledge of the IB program with my information of Colombia to develop this ideal preparation for the exam. Since I serve as a consultant for the Oklahoma City Schools, my goal is to promote the study of Colombia through the IB program.

ADDENDUM

M94/312/H(3)

INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE

HISTORY – AMERICAS

Higher Level

Wednesday 4 May 1994 (morning)

Paper 3 2 hours 30 minutes

This examination paper consists of twenty questions.

The maximum mark for each question is 20.

The maximum mark for this paper is 60.

This examination paper consists of three pages.

INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES

DO NOT open this examination paper until instructed to do so.

Answer any THREE questions.

EXAMINATION MATERIALS

Required/Essential:

None

Allowed/Optional:

A simple translating dictionary for candidates not working in their own language

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

1. Compare the reasons of two of the major imperial powers for undertaking colonisation in the eighteenth century.

2. Why did revolution occur in the United States in 1776 and not until after 1800 in Latin America?

3. Discuss the role of leadership in the formation of new governments in two countries of the region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

4. What were the major arguments for and against slavery in the period before 1860?

5. Analyse the political problems of Upper and Lower Canada prior to the rebellions of 1837.

6. Describe the progress of industrialisation in any two countries of the region in the first half of the nineteenth century.

7. How successful was Reconstruction following the American Civil War?

8. Describe and explain the reasons for the patterns of population growth in two countries of the region in the nineteenth century.

9. Around what issues did political parties form in Latin America in the nineteenth century? With reference to two countries, explain the differences and similarities in issues and parties.

10. Compare the treatment of Asian immigrants in two countries of the region, 1890 to 1925.

11. Why was Panama the last republic in the region to gain independence and how did this occur?

12. What were the basic economic problems of two Latin American countries in the first half of the twentieth century and how did they attempt to solve them?

13. Evaluate the contributions of Wilfrid Laurier to Canadian growth, 1896 to 1911.

14. What lasting changes did the Great Depression (1929) bring to the economic structures of any *two countries of the region?*

15. 'By December 1941, the United States was a belligerent in all but name.' Comment on this statement with regard to United States foreign policy in the decade before Pearl Harbor.

16. Discuss the role of the military in **two** Latin American countries from 1945 to 1980.

17. Does Canada have a foreign policy independent of the United States? Be specific in your answer.

18. Compare the domestic programmes of **two** United States presidents between 1945 and 1985. Which one do you consider to have been more successful and why?

19. Analyse the trade relations of the United States with **one** other country of the region since 1960.

20. 'Native peoples are finally standing up for themselves but with very limited success.' Assess this judgement with at least **two** examples, each chosen from a different country in the region.

CURRICULUM PROJECT:
"A Latin American Case Study: Coffee based agriculture in Colombia"

PREPARED FOR THE FULBRIGHT COMMISSION:
COLOMBIA

ANTHONY THOMAN,
FULBRIGHT PARTICIPANT,
JULY, 1997

The following project was completed by Anthony Thoman on September 1, 1997. This project was to be completed in conjunction with the one month seminar attended in Colombia in July of 1997.

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I. Introduction:

1. Unit title: "A Latin American Case Study: coffee based agriculture in Colombia"

2. Context: This unit has been created to fit within the guidelines of the Global Studies Regents curriculum as established by the State Education Department for the state of New York.

   In most classes, this mini curriculum would be appropriate for the ninth grade class, when most students study Latin America.

3. New York State curriculum objectives:
   While the teacher is given some flexibility in presenting the content, certain broad objectives must be met. The following unit will address some of the basic concepts expected to be covered within the rubrics of geography, economics, government, and current global problems.

   1. agricultural methods and processes
   2. geography and its effect on economic development:
      a. physical geography
      b. climate
   3. cash crops
   4. one - crop economies
   5. economic diversification
   6. urbanization / rural - urban migration
   7. the "green revolution"
   8. mechanization and agriculture
   9. encomienda system
   10. land ownership issues and land reform
   11. cooperative economic arrangements
       a. how farmers, miners, and industrialist have often formed cooperative institutions to increase profits, security, improve efficiency, etc.
       b. example given: Federacion Nacional de Cafeteros de Colombia
   12. environmental degradation as a result of certain agricultural practices

4. Materials:

coffee berries, green coffee beans, ground roasted coffee
slides detailing coffee bean production
excerpt from Galeano's Open Veins of Latin America
video "Colombian coffee y commercial del exterior" put out by the Federacion de Cafeteros (20 minutes)

5. Objectives:

The study of agriculture is an important aspect of the New York State Global curriculum. Students learn how agriculture was the economic foundation on which all preindustrial societies have been based. A microscopic understanding of how certain crops are grown, and the efforts needed to sustain a surplus of these crops makes it easier for the student to get a handle of how most preindustrial societies operated.

While the students are more attuned to the more modern economies,which are based on industry, services, and information in New York City, an understanding of how an agricultural economy functions is all the more vital. Living in an urban environment, it is easy to become detached from the means of production. Many in New York City give little thought to how food makes it to the supermarkets and green grocers, and why the prices are what they are. It can easily be argued that it is important to understand the dynamics of agriculture as it not only has a fundamental impact on the American and global economies, but on how we live our day to day lives.

The following unit is designed to give the student a greater grasp of how an agricultural economy operates and how it impacts on us. By studying coffee production in Colombia, the student will get a tangible, as opposed to a theoretical, overview of how one crop is grown, how it meets the needs of the people involved, and how it ultimately impacts on the country and the global community.

II: UNIT OF LESSONS:

1. Topic: Coffee: From bush to a cup of java
   Aim: How much effort really goes into making that cup of morning coffee?

2. Topic: The risks involved in coffee farming
   Aim: How much risk is there for a coffee farmer and nation?

3. Topic: The History of Coffee
   Aim: Why has the history of coffee been so full of hardship?

4. Topic: "Juan Valdez" and the Federacion de Cafeteros
   Aim: How can cooperative institutions improve the lives of farmers?

Lesson #1: Coffee: From bush to a cup of java

Aim: How much effort really goes into making that morning cup of coffee?

Instructional objective: students will gain a better appreciation for the many steps and complexities involved in the production of coffee.

materials: slides, coffee berries, green coffee beans, and ground roasted coffee

Motivating Activity:

1. Before writing topic and aim on board, pour a small amount of standard ground roasted coffee into a half dozen paper cups and have students pass these cups around. Encourage them to smell and even taste what is in the cup.
2. Question on nature of substance before writing topic and aim on board, but then lead into the central question of the class: what does it take from the moment the bean is picked to this final stage?
3. Have students speculate on the steps necessary, by asking the following question: If you were a coffee farmer in Colombia, what would you have to go through to produce the ground material in the cups?

Slides: show slides which show the many steps involved in harvesting coffee. Compare notes with what students said, and provide an explanation with each slide. These are descriptions of the slides.

1. coffee seedlings in paper pots
2. coffee bush with red berries
3. a man holding up a red berry that has been picked
4. of the washing mechanism
5. a drying bed full of coffee beans
6. a compost pile full of coffee bean rejects and pulp

Board Work: After turning off the slide projector, have the students take turns writing on the board the steps just discussed.

1. germination and growth of bush
2. hand picking of the red berries (pass around dried coffee berries)
3. washing of the berries

4. fermentation of berries
5. removal of pulp
6. drying coffee beans
7. separation of lower quality beans
8. removal of parchment (pass around green coffee beans with parchment)
9. roasting of beans
10. grinding of beans

Questions: The following questions will be asked to analyze the material that has been presented.

1. If you were a coffee farmer, which step would you dread the most? Why?
2. At what point do you think the coffee farmer is ready to sell the beans? Why? (looking at the ten steps)
3. Coffee is now going for about $8 a pound at Starbucks. Why do you think this is so? What do you think can be done to make coffee cheaper?

The following questions are designed to give the student a more emphatic understanding of coffee production, and to better understand the complexities involved in coffee farming. The third question addresses the issue of labor intensive farming.

Summary: Coffee farming involves many steps, most of which can not be addressed with mechanized alternatives. Much of the work is labor intensive, and would be demanding on us physically. Students should leave with a greater appreciation for the labor that goes into coffee farming, and therefore the cost of coffee in our markets.

Lesson #2: The risks involved in coffee farming

Aim: How much risk is there for a coffee farmer and nation?

Instructional objective: students will have a better understanding of the many risks associated with coffee production and agriculture in general.

Motivating Activity: Put the following statement on the board: "In 1969, the price of coffee in the U.S. almost doubled in one year." Have students write on scrap paper why they think this phenomenon occurred. Then, collect the scraps and discuss the possibilities. When a student volunteers an answer that directs the problem to the farmer himself, work with that, and start using the board.

Boardwork: Following the initial discussion of the quote, begin a list on the board: "Hardships facing the average farmer".... here are some possibilities

1. frost (the actual answer...... this leads into the dangers facing crops grown in subtropical regions)
2. flooding
3. drought
4. erosion
5. too many middlemen
6. low prices (depending of level of class - discuss factors)
7. insects and other pests

Questions:

1. How do these factors have an impact on the price?
2. How can these factors have an impact on the farmer?
   Because of the high risks involved, how are farmers coping?
   (the answer will incorporate the following concepts:
   urbanization
   economic diversification
   mechanization)
3. What can farmers do to lower the risks?
   (the answer will incorporate the following concept:
   Green Revolution)

the remainder of the lesson will address the address the following, under the heading: The Green Revolution.

Boardwork:

1. intercropping
2. crop rotation
3. discontinuing agriculture on steep hillsides
4. use of organic and chemical fertilizers
5. use of insecticides and herbicides

Questions:

1. Based on material covered so far, have the coffee farmers in Colombia responded to mechanization? Why or why not?
   (with discussion, we will see that for many reasons, mechanization is not possible with some of the steps, particularly when it comes to harvesting a select group of berries on steep hillsides)
2. Based on material covered so far, have the coffee farmers in Colombia been a part of the Green Revolution?
   (students should be able to recount the composting slide of the day before, but also question the continuing practice of growing coffee on steep hillsides.)

Summary: There are many risks that the farmer, particularly the coffee farmer in a steep environment in a sub-tropical climate, has to deal with. When farmers are adversely affected, others feel the impact, whether it is the consumer, or the nation itself. Farmers have responded in various ways recently, whether it is abandoning farms for urban areas, diversification, mechanization, and adopting the advances of the Green Revolution.

Homework assigned for the following day: Read excerpts from Galeano's Open Veins of Latin America

Lesson #3: The History of Coffee

Aim: Why has the history of coffee been so full of hardship?

Instructional objective: students will have a better understanding of the many inequities and injustices of traditional Latin American agriculture.

Materials: Galeano's Open Veins of Latin America

Group Work: Each student has been assigned to read a 3-5 page handout the previous day from Galeano's Open Veins of Latin America. Some have been asked to read about the sugar plantation work in Cuba, some about rubber tapping in the Amazon, and others regarding coffee farming in Colombia. Those that did the sugar reading group together, and so forth for rubber and coffee. Each group is given the task of identifying the hardships and inequities encountered by the farmers themselves in their designated groups. In each group is a recorder, checker, and reporter.

Boardwork: After twenty minutes, the students break up and regroup as a class. The teacher presents some basic historical information on the geographic roots of sugar (Canary Islands) , rubber (indigenous), and coffee (Ethiopia), then goes on to describe how these crops grown on a massive scale beginning with sugar cane in the seventeenth century. Yet, while these crops made our lives more pleasurable by giving us new addictions, and made travel easier, the farmers did not share in these benefits.

Questions:

1. What hardships did these three types of farmers share?
    a. no land ownership
    b. few or no civil rights
    c. a disproportionate share of the profits
    d. high mortality rates due to nature of work, malnutrition, and tropical diseases
2. Was there a difference between the landowners and the workers?
    a. In the case of sugar, Indians were first used, later Africans
    b. In the case of rubber, Indians, Africans, and mulattos
    c. In the case of coffee, many European immigrants, often

Italians did the bulk of work

3. Which form of agriculture appears to have been the source of the most abuse?

   (With the remainder of class time, the class can examine the way an encomienda type of agriculture worked, and how much the system still lingers. This brings up the opportunity to discuss the importance of the issue of land reform in Latin America today).

Summary: There are many injustices and inequities that have historically existed in Latin American agricultural communities. While there are distinctions between eighteenth century Africans on a Cuban sugar plantation, Indians on a Amazonian rubber grove, and an Italian paisano in a a turn of the century Colombian coffee plantation, one common thread exists throughout: hardship, poverty, injustice, and with some exception in the case of Colombia, the inability to own the land.

Lesson #4: "Juan Valdez" and the Federacion de Cafeteros

Aim: How can cooperative institutions improve the lives of the farmers?

Instructional objective: Students will see that there are ways that farmers can address the many built-in hardships of farming. One of the principle solutions that farmers have come up with all over the world, is the formation of cooperative institutions. A discussion of the Cafeteros will provide a case in point.

Materials: the video "Colombian Coffee y Comerciales del exterior"

Motivating Activity: Have students break up into the same groups that they were in the previous day. Each group must craft list of possible solutions to the various problems farmers have faced, drawing on what has been discussed throughout this unit. The following ideas will hopefully come across: land reform, elimination of middlemen, development of cash and coffee reserves for the hardship years, and in general, the whole concept of coffee growers pulling together to form a cooperative mechanism is hopefully brought up. Each group should have a recorder, checker, and reporter. They should be different than the ones on the previous day.

Boardwork: Have students regroup as a class, and have the reporters share their lists with the rest of the class.

Draw the following on the board: for a pound of coffee

Juan Valdez	coffee distributor	NYC dock	roaster	supermarket
$1.00	$1.85	$2.00	$4.00	$5.00

Discuss with students the various value increases, and what accounts for them. Included in the answers should be use of machinery, transport, bagging, cost of roasting, advertising, and profit motive.

Questions:

1. How does the farmer make out in such an arrangement?
2. Is there any way the farmer can make more money for each pound of coffee sold?
3. What accounts for the 85 cents increase from farmer to the distributor at the local mill? Would the use of machinery and packing for transport justify such an increase?
   (At this point introduce the Federacion de Cafeteros)
4. What kinds of benefits could such an organization bring? (Cite examples like the American Dairy Farmers Association, National Rifle Association)

Board:

Nacional Federacion de Cafeteros de Colombia: An example of a cooperative institution. List on board the various ideas raised by students. Without any further comment, show the film, and see if the students were on the right track

The list should follow as such:

1. local infrastructure such as roads, schools, etc.
2. education on new and better coffee growing methods, and promotion of better varieties of bushes
3. give farmers a forum for sharing information and complaints
4. develop new pest resistant strains of coffee
5. legal, social, and medical services
6. build up of reserves for "rainy day" years
7. eliminate excessive profiteering and unnecessary middlemen
8. promotional campaigns

Questions:

1. Do you think that such an organization is worth the expense? What kinds of problems would you have as a coffee farmer that had to rely on such a Federation?

End class with an analysis of the Federation, and its value to coffee growers.

Summary: Coffee farmers in Colombia have been able to achieve a higher quality of life as compared to other farmers throughout Latin America as a result of a cooperative institution. While this means that the profit margin may be lower in the short term, and that the cost of Colombian coffee will be higher than other types, it has given many farmers a chance to enjoy a life free of the many risks and inequities many others have to face. Cooperative frameworks have historically existed in various forms all over the world, and are a major part of the agricultural community in the United States.

ADVISORY:

It is unlikely that any of these lesson plans can be fully executed in standard forty minute periods. It is advised that the teacher either revise these lessons, or extend them. In many cases, these lessons can be customized to last two days.

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feet has not been easy. Half of its children did not go to school in 1958, but, as Fidel Castro has said many times, the ignorance was much broader and more serious than mere illiteracy. The big campaign of 1961 mobilized an army of young volunteers to teach all Cubans to read and write, and the results astonished the world: according to UNESCO's Department of Education, Cuba now has the lowest percentage of illiterates and the highest percentage attending primary and secondary school in Latin America. But the inherited curse of ignorance cannot be overcome overnight—or in twelve years. A lack of efficient technicians, administrative incompetence and disorganization of production, and a bureaucratic fear of creative imagination and decision still obstruct the development of socialism. Yet despite the whole structure of impotence forged by four and one-half centuries of oppression, Cuba is being reborn with an enthusiasm that never flags: against obstacles it matches its strength, its gaiety, and its audacity.

In Cuba, Sugar Was the Knife, Imperialism the Assassin

"Is building on sugar better than building on sand?" Jean-Paul Sartre asked himself when he was in Cuba in 1960.

On the pier in the port of Guayabal, which exports sugar in bulk, pelicans wheel over an enormous shed. Entering it, I am astonished to see a golden pyramid of sugar. As hatches open to run the unsacked cargo down into the ships below, more cascades of gold—sugar newly brought from the mills—pour in through openings in the roof. It glints and sparkles in beams of sunlight. This warm mountain, too big for my eyes to take in, is worth some $4 million. Here, I think to myself, is summed up all the euphoria and drama of the record harvest of 1970, a harvest which aspired—but despite superhuman effort, was not able—to reach ten million tons. Yet the story behind the golden cascade is a much longer one. I think about the Francisco Sugar Company (in which Allen Dulles was a director), where I have passed a week listening to stories of the past and seeing the birth of the future . . . Josefina, daughter of Caridad Rodriguez, who studies in a classroom that was a barracks cell, the exact place where her father was held and tortured before he died; Antonio Bastidas, the seventy-year-old black who, early one morning this year, seized the lever of the siren with both hands, dancing in the air because the mill had overfilled its quota and yelling, "Shit, man, we done it!"—and no one would take Antonio's clenched hands off the lever while the siren, which had awakened the community, was awakening all Cuba. Stories of evictions, bribery, murder, hunger, of strange occupations which unemployment—obligatory more than six months of every year—engenders: hunting crickets in the fields, for example.

But those who died did not do so in vain: Amancio Rodríguez, for one, riddled with bullets by strikebreakers at a meeting, had angrily refused a blank check from the boss; his comrades, when they went to get his body, found he owned no underwear or socks to be buried in. Or Pedro Plaza, arrested at age twenty, who guided a truckful of soldiers over mines he had himself laid and was blown up with the truck and the soldiers. And so many more, in this area and all over: "Here," an old sugar worker told me, "the people have a great love for martyrs—but only after they're dead. Before, there's nothing but complaints." It wasn't an accident, I think to myself, that Fidel Castro recruited three-quarters of his *guerrilleros* from among the *campesinos*, the sugar workers; nor that Oriente province has throughout Cuba's history been the biggest source of both sugar and rebellion. I understand the accumulated rancor that made the Revolution, after the big harvest of 1961, decide to take revenge on sugar, the living memory of humiliation. Was it also Cuba's fate? Did it then become a penitence? Could it now be a lever, a catapult for economic development?

When a pardonable impatience set in, the Revolution destroyed many canefields and sought to diversify agriculture overnight. It didn't fall into the traditional error of dividing the latifundios into unproductive small farms, but every socialized farm proceeded to make sudden and excessive variations in its crops. Yet there had to be large-scale imports to industrialize the country, raise agricultural production, and satisfy many consumer needs which, in redistributing wealth, the Revolution enormously increased. Without big sugar harvests, where would the currency for these imports come from? The development of mining—particularly nickel—requires large investments, and these are being made; fishery production, also

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needing enormous investments, has risen eight times thanks to the growth of the fleet; ambitious plans for citrus fruit production are being implemented, but the interval of years between planting and harvesting demands patience. The Revolution, after discovering that it had confused the knife with the assassin, turned sugar, which had been responsible for underdevelopment, into an instrument of development. There was no alternative but to use the fruits of monoculture and dependence, born of Cuba's incorporation into the world market, to break the spine of that monoculture and dependence. No longer was the income earned by sugar to go to consolidate the structure of submission.*

Imports of machinery and industrial installations have risen by 40 percent since 1958; the economic surplus generated by sugar has been mobilized to develop basic industries and to see that neither lands nor workers are condemned to idleness. Cuba had five thousand tractors and thirty thousand automobiles when the Batista dictatorship fell. Today it has fifty thousand tractors—although they are to a large extent wasted because of organizational deficiencies—and nothing remains of that fleet of automobiles, mainly luxury models except a few specimens fit for scrap-iron. The cement industry and electrical plants are growing with extraordinary speed; big fertilizer factories created by the Revolution have enabled Cuba to use five times more fertilizer than in 1958. Reservoirs built all over the island today contain seventy-three times as much water as was available in 1958, and Cuba has made a seven-league-boot advance in areas under irrigation. New highways throughout Cuba have broken what once seemed to be the eternal isolation of many regions. Holstein bulls, brought in to increase the meager milk production from Cebu cattle, have produced eight hundred thousand cross-bred cows by artificial insemination.

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* The stable sugar price guaranteed by the socialist countries has played a decisive role in this respect, as has the breaking of the U.S.-organized blockade by intensive trading with the West European countries. A third of Cuba's exports earn dollars—that is, convertible currency; the rest is on a barter basis with the Soviet Union and the ruble zone. This system of trading creates certain difficulties: while Soviet turbines for thermo-electric installations are of excellent quality, like all Soviet-made heavy equipment, this is not true of consumer goods produced by its light or medium-sized industry.

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Much progress—but still not enough—has been made in the mechanization of sugarcane cutting and loading, mainly using Cuban inventions. A new work system is being organized, with difficulty, to replace the old one which could not survive the changes brought by the Revolution. Professional *macheteros*, canecutters who are prisoners of sugar, are an extinct species: for them too, the Revolution meant freedom to choose other less grueling work, and for their children the chance of scholarships to study in the cities. Unavoidably, the sugar workers' liberation has resulted in serious upsets in the economy. In the 1970 harvest Cuba had to use three times as many workers as before, mainly volunteers or soldiers or people from different jobs, thereby harming other rural and urban activities—the harvesting of other products, the work-rhythm in the factories. Here one must bear in mind that in a socialist society, unlike in a capitalist one, workers are not motivated by fear of unemployment or by avarice. Other drives—solidarity, collective responsibility, awareness of the duties and rights that move a man beyond selfishness—must be brought into play. And the conscience of a whole people is not changed in a moment. When the Revolution came to power most Cubans, according to Fidel Castro, were not even anti-imperialists.

Cubans became radicalized along with their Revolution as challenges and responses, blows and counter-blows between Havana and Washington followed one upon the other, and as the Revolution proceeded to turn its promises of social justice into solid facts. It built 170 new hospitals and as many polyclinics, and made medical care free. It multiplied by three the number of students enrolled at all levels and also made education free; over 300,000 children and youths benefit today from scholarships, and boarding schools and kindergartens have proliferated. A large part of the population pays no rent and no one pays for water, light, public telephones, funerals, or sporting events. Spending on social services increased five times in a few years. But now that everyone has education and shoes, necessities multiply geometrically and production can only grow arithmetically. Cuba has been compelled to escalate its exports, and sugar continues to be its major resource. Many products are in short supply: in 1970, fruit and refrigerators and clothing. Queues, part of the daily routine, are not solely due to disorganized distribution. The essential cause of scarcity is the new abundance of consumers: the country now belongs to everyone, consumption is by all, not just a few. Thus it is scarcity of an opposite kind to that in other Latin American countries. The Revolution is indeed living through the hard times of transition and sacrifice. The Cubans themselves have learned that socialism is built with clenched teeth and that revolution is no evening stroll. But after all, if the future came on a platter, it would not be of this world.

The Revolution is forced to sleep with its eyes open, and in economic terms this also costs dearly. Constantly harassed by invasion and sabotage, it does not fall because—strange dictatorship!—it is defended by a people in arms. The expropriated expropriators do not give up. The brigade that landed at the Bay of Pigs in April 1961 was not only made up of former Batista soldiers and policemen, but also of the previous owners of more than 370,000 hectares of land, nearly 10,000 buildings, 70 factories, 10 sugarmills, 3 banks, 5 mines, and 12 cabarets. Guatemalan dictator Miguel Ydígoras Fuentes provided training camps for the expedition in return, as he later admitted, for U.S. promises of cash (which was never paid) and an increase in the Guatemalan sugar quota in the U.S. market.

In 1965 another sugar country, the Dominican Republic, was invaded, this time—according to their commander, General Bruce Palmer—by forty thousand U.S. Marines ready "to stay indefinitely in this country in view of the reigning confusion." The vertical drop in sugar prices had been a factor in setting off popular indignation; the people rose against the military dictatorship and U.S. troops arrived promptly to restore order. They left four thousand dead in battles fought by patriots, body to body, in a crowded Santo Domingo slum, between the Rio Ozama and the Caribbean.* The Organization of American States—which has the memory of a donkey, never forgetting where it eats—blessed the invasion and supplied it with new forces. The germ of another Cuba had to be exterminated.

From the Sacrifice of the Slaves in the Caribbean Were Born James Watt's Steam Engine and George Washington's Cannon

Che Guevara said that underdevelopment was a dwarf with an enormous head and a bloated stomach: its spindly legs and stubby arms do not fit with the rest of the body. In yesterday's Havana fashionable avenues glittered and purred with Cadillacs, and luscious starlets undulated to the rhythms of Lecuona's famous band in the world's largest cabaret; meanwhile in the Cuban countryside only one in every ten peasants ever drank milk, barely 4 percent ate meat, and the wages of three out of five (according to the National Economic Council) were three to four times lower than the cost of living.

But sugar did not only produce dwarfs. It also produced giants, or at least contributed generously to their growth. The sugar of tropical Latin America gave powerful impetus to the accumulation of capital for English, French, Dutch, and U.S. industrial development, while at the same time mutilating the economy of Northeast Brazil and the Caribbean islands and consummating the historic ruin of Africa. The fulcrum of the triangular trade—manufactures, slaves, sugar—between Europe, Africa, and America was the traffic in slaves for sugar plantations. As Auguste Cochin wrote: "The story of a grain of sugar is a whole lesson in political economy, in politics, and also in morality."

West African tribes fought among themselves to add prisoners of war to their reserves of slaves. They were in Portugal's colonial orbit, but when the slave trade boomed the Portuguese, lacking ships and industrial articles to offer in exchange, became mere middlemen be-

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* After the invasion, President Lyndon Johnson's special envoy to the Dominican Republic was Ellsworth Bunker, the chairman of the National Sugar Refining Company. National Sugar's interests in this small country were safeguarded under Bunker's attentive eye: the occupation troops withdrew, leaving in power, after very democratic elections, Joaquin Balaguer, Trujillo's right arm throughout his brutal dictatorship. The Dominicans had fought in the streets and on rooftops, with sticks, machetes, and guns, against the foreign forces' tanks, bazookas, and helicopters for the return to power of constitutionally elected President Juan Bosch, who had been overthrown by a military coup. History plays derisively prophetic games. On the day when Bosch began his brief presidency, after thirty years of Trujillo tyranny, Lyndon Johnson, then vice-president, brought his government's official gift to Santo Domingo: it was an ambulance.

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sugar latifundios expanded in successive waves. In 1900, forty thousand drought victims left Ceará. They took the road that everyone took at the time, north to the jungle. Later the direction changed: in our day Northeasterners emigrate to the center and south of Brazil. The drought of 1970 drove hungry multitudes into the cities of the Northeast. They plundered trains and stores, implored the saints to send rain, and clogged the roads. "Pernambuco state police," said a wire service cable in April 1970, "last Sunday arrested in the municipality of Belém do São Francisco 210 peasants who were to be sold for $18 a head to rural landowners in Minas Gerais state." [21] * The peasants came from Paraíba and Rio Grande do Norte, the two states most punished by drought. In June, statements by the federal police chief came over the teletype: no effective means of ending the slave traffic were available to him, and although ten investigations had been launched in recent months, the sale of Northeastern workers to rich landowners in other areas continues.

The Rubber Cycle: Caruso Inaugurates a Jungle Theater

Some authors estimate that in the period of the rise of rubber no less than half a million Northeasterners succumbed to epidemics, malaria, tuberculosis, or beriberi. Says one: "This grim charnel house was the price of the rubber industry." [22] Peasants with no nutritional reserves went from the dry lands to the swampy jungle, where fevers lay in wait for them. Packed into ships' holds for the long journey, many anticipated their fate by dying en route. Others did not even reach the ships. In 1878, 120,000 of Ceará's 800,000 population headed for the Amazon and less than half got there; the rest collapsed from hunger or disease on the *sertão* trails or in the suburbs of Fortaleza. A year earlier one of the Northeast's seven greatest droughts of the past century had begun.

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* In 1938 the pilgrimage of a cowhand over the parched roads of the *sertão* inspired one of the best novels in Brazilian literature. On cattle ranches in the interior, subordinated to coastal sugarmills, there has been no let-up in the scourge of drought and the effects continue the same. The world of Graciliano Ramos' *Barren Lives*—in which the parrot imitates the dog's bark because his masters have almost stopped using the human voice—remains intact.

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Not only fevers awaited them in the jungle, but a work regime very similar to slavery. *Guardias rurales* posted along the riverbanks shot at fugitives. The pay was in kind—dried meat, manioc flour, lumps of unrefined sugar, *aguardiente*—until the rubber worker paid off his debts, a miracle that rarely occurred. Employers had an agreement among themselves not to give jobs to workers who were in debt to other employers. Debts piled on debts. To the cost of transport from the Northeast were added the debts for work tools, machetes, knives, and eating bowls; and since the worker consumed food—and above all liquor, never a scarce commodity in the rubber forests—the longer he worked the higher his accumulated debt. The illiterate Northeasterners were at the mercy of the administrators' conjuring tricks with the ledgers.

In 1770 J. B. Priestley had observed that rubber would erase pencil marks on paper, and seventy years later Charles Goodyear and the Englishman Thomas Hancock simultaneously discovered the process of vulcanizing rubber, making it flexible and impervious to temperature changes. By 1850 the wheels of vehicles were being sheathed in rubber. At the end of the century the automobile industry was born in the United States and Europe, and with it the consumption of great quantities of pneumatic tires. World demand for rubber soared. The rubber-tree was bringing Brazil a tenth of its export income in 1890, and by 1910 this had risen to 40 percent, making rubber sales almost equal to those of coffee, although coffee was then at the height of its prosperity. Most of the rubber production came from the Acre area, which Brazil had wrested from Bolivia after a lightning military campaign.*

With Acre in its possession, Brazil had almost all of the world's rubber reserves. Prices were at their peak on the international market and it seemed that good times had come to stay. The rubber workers, of course, did not share in this, although it was they who went out from their huts each dawn, receptacles strapped on their backs, to bleed the giant *Hevea brasiliensis* trees. They made incisions in the trunks and in thick branches and the whitish, sticky latex dripped from the wounds, filling the cups in a couple of hours. At night the flat slabs of rubber which had accumulated in the administration center were cooked. The sour and revolting smell of rubber impregnated the city of Manaus, world capital of the rubber business. Manaus had five thousand inhabitants in 1849; it had seventy thousand in little more than half a century. There rubber magnates built their extravagantly designed and sumptuously decorated mansions with precious Oriental woods, Portuguese majolicas, columns of Carrara marble, and furniture by French master cabinetmakers. The nouveau riche of the jungle had the most costly foods brought from Rio de Janeiro; Europe's top couturiers cut their dresses and outfits; they sent their sons to study at British schools. The Amazonas theater, a baroque monument in triumphantly poor taste, is the chief symbol of that vertigo of wealth at the beginning of our century. Caruso navigated the river through the jungle to sing to Manaus' inhabitants for a kingly fee on opening night; Pavlova, who was supposed to dance there, could not get beyond Belém but sent her apologies.

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* Some seventy-five thousand square miles were lopped off Bolivia. In 1902 it got a £2 million indemnity and a railway line giving it access to the Madeira and Amazon rivers.

In 1913 sudden disaster hit Brazilian rubber. The world price fell to a quarter of the two shillings it had been three years earlier. The Far East had only exported four tons of rubber in 1900; in 1914 Ceylonese and Malay plantations poured over 70,000 tons onto the world market, and within five years their exports approached the 400,000-ton mark. By 1919 Brazil, which had had a virtual monopoly, was supplying only one-eighth of world consumption. A half-century later Brazil is buying more than half its rubber from abroad.

What happened? Back in 1873 Henry Wickham, an Englishman who owned rubber forests on the Rio Tapajoz and was known for his botanical manias, had sent sketches and leaves of the rubber tree to the director of Kew Gardens in London. He got an order for a quantity of seeds from the yellow fruit of *Hevea brasiliensis*. Since Brazil severely punished any leakage of seeds, he had to smuggle them out, which was not easy: ships were meticulously searched by the authorities. Then, as if under a magic spell, an Inman Line ship penetrated 1,200 miles further than usual into the interior of Brazil. On its return, Henry Wickham was aboard as a member of the crew. He had selected the best seeds after putting the fruit out to dry in a native village, and had put them in a locked cabin, wrapped in banana leaves and suspended on strings so that the ship's rats could not get at them. The rest of the ship was empty. In the port of Belém, at the river's mouth, Wickham invited the authorities to a grand banquet. The Englishman's eccentricities were notorious—all Amazonia knew that he collected orchids—and he explained that on order from the English king he was carrying a collection of rare orchid bulbs to Kew Gardens. As the plants were very delicate he had them in a hermetically sealed cabin at a special temperature: if it was opened the flowers would be ruined. Thus the seeds reached the Liverpool docks unscathed. Forty years later the British invaded the world market with Malayan rubber. The Asian plantations, skillfully developed from shoots grown at Kew Gardens, easily supplanted Brazilian production.

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Amazonian prosperity vanished in a puff of smoke. The jungle closed back upon itself. Fortune hunters left for other parts and the luxurious camp disintegrated. The only people remaining, surviving as best they could, were the workers who had been brought from afar to make fortunes for others—and not even for Brazilians. For Brazil had merely responded to the siren song of world demand for raw materials, without itself participating in the real business of rubber—finance, trade, industrialization, and distribution. The siren fell mute until the Second World War gave a new but fleeting push to Amazonian rubber. The Allied powers desperately searched for supplies when the Japanese occupied Malaya: the Peruvian jungle was ransacked and the so-called Battle of Rubber once again mobilized Brazil's Northeastern peasants.[*] This time, according to an accusation made in the Congress when the "battle" ended, the victims of disease and hunger, whose bodies remained to rot among the rubber trees, numbered some fifty thousand.

The rubber boom and the rise of coffee growing involved big levies of Northeastern workers. But the government also uses its bottomless reserve of cheap labor for public works. The naked men who built the city of Brasilia almost overnight were Northeasterners transported like cattle to the wilderness site. Today this most modern of the world's cities is surrounded by a great belt of poverty: when they finished their work, these people—known as *candangos*—were dumped in outlying hovels. There, always available for any task, 300,000 Northeasterners live off the splendid capital's leavings.

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[*] Early in our century, rubber-forested mountains in Peru had held out the promise of a new El Dorado. In 1908 Francisco García Calderón wrote in *El Perú contemporáneo* that rubber was the great wealth of the future. In his novel *The Green House*, Mario Vargas Llosa reconstructs the feverish atmosphere in Iquitos and in the jungle, where adventurers robbed the Indians and each other. Nature had leprosy and other weapons with which to take its vengeance.

The Northeasterners' slave labor is now constructing the great trans-Amazonia highway that will cut Brazil in two, penetrating the jungle up to the Bolivian border. The "march to the west," as the plan is called, also involves an agricultural colonization project to extend "the frontiers of civilization"; each peasant will get ten hectares of land if he survives the tropical fevers. The Northeast contains six million landless peasants while fifteen thousand people own half of all the land. Agrarian reform is not carried out in the already occupied areas, where the latifundistas' property rights remain sacred, but in the jungle. Thus a road for the latifundio's expansion into new territory is being opened up by its victims, the *flagelado*, or "tormented ones," of the Northeast. Without capital or implements, what is the use of ten hectares one to two thousand miles from consumer centers? One must conclude that the government's real aims are quite different: to provide labor for the U.S. latifundistas who have bought or appropriated half the lands north of the Rio Negro, and also for U.S. Steel, which received Amazonia's rich iron and manganese deposits from General Garrastazú Médici.*

Cacao Planters Lit Their Cigarettes with 500,000-Reis Bills

For a long time Venezuela was identified with cacao, a native South American plant. Venezuelans, as Domingo Rangel says, have been made to sell cacao and distribute foreign trinkets in their own lands.[23] The cacao oligarchs made up a "Holy Trinity of backwardness," along with moneylenders and traders. Cacao coexisted with indigo, sugar tobacco, and a few mines, and cattle-raising on the plains, but the people correctly baptized as "Gran Cacao" the slave-owning oligarchy in Caracas, which supplied cacao to Mexico's mining oligarchy and to the Spanish metropolis, thus using black labor to enrich itself. A coffee era began in Venezuela in 1873; coffee, like cacao, needs sloping lands or warm valleys. Despite this competition, cacao continued to expand, invading the humid lands of Carúpano. Venezuela remained an agricultural country condemned to the cyclical rise and fall of coffee and cacao prices; the two products created the capital that enabled landlords, merchants, and moneylenders to live as wasteful parasites.

Then, in 1922, the country suddenly became a fountain of oil, and oil has reigned without interruption ever since. The black gold finally gushed forth, justifying, four centuries late, the fantasies of the Spanish conquistadores: searching in vain for the king who bathed in gold, they had become mad enough to confuse a little Maracaibo village with Venice and the fetid coast of Paria with earthly paradise.

The last decades of the nineteenth century marked the rise of European and U.S. gluttony for chocolate. The industry's progress lent great impetus to Brazilian cacao and to production in the old Venezuelan and Ecuadorean plantations. Cacao made its entrance onto the Brazilian economic stage at the same time as rubber, and like rubber it gave work to Northeastern peasants. São Salvador, now Baia, on Todos os Santos bay, once capital of Brazil and of sugar and one of Latin America's most important cities, revived as the cacao capital. In our time latifundios south of Baia—from the Recôncavo region to the state of Espírito Santo, between the littoral lowlands and the mountain chain along the coast—still supply raw material for a good part of the world's chocolate consumption. Like sugarcane, cacao means monoculture, the burning of forests, the dictatorship of international prices, and perpetual penury for the workers. The plantation owners, who live on the Rio de Janeiro beaches and are more businessmen than farmers, do not permit a single inch of land to be devoted to other crops. Their managers normally pay wages in kind—jerked beef, flour, beans; when paid in cash, the peasant receives

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* In October 1970 the Bishop of Pará denounced to the president of Brazil the brutal exploitation of Northeastern workers by contractors for the trans-Amazonia highway. The government calls it "the work of the century."

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benefit. Four years after planting, when the branches are yellow with beans, the land has multiplied in value and it is time for the sharecropper to move on.

Coffee plantations pay even less in Guatemala than cotton plantations. On the southern slopes the owners claim to pay $15 a month to the thousands of natives who descend southward each year from the *altiplano* to sell their labor during the harvests. The plantations have private police forces: there, as the popular saying has it, "a man is cheaper than a mule," and the repressive apparatus sees that he remains so. In the Alta Verapaz region the situation is even worse. The planters have no trucks or carts: they do not need them since it costs less to use the Indians' backs.

Coffee is basic to the economy of El Salvador, a little country owned by a handful of oligarchical families: monoculture makes it necessary to import the beans—the people's only source of protein—corn, vegetables, and other foods the country traditionally produced. A quarter of all Salvadorians die of avitaminosis, or severe vitamin deficiency. As for Haiti, it has Latin America's highest death rate, and more than half of its children are anemic. The wages Haiti requires by law belong in the department of science fiction: actual wages on coffee plantations vary from $.07 to $.15 a day.

In Colombia, where suitable slopes abound, coffee is king. According to a *Time* magazine report in 1962, only 5 percent of the price yielded by coffee in its journey from tree to U.S. consumer goes into the wages of the workers who produce it.[27] * In contrast to Brazil, most Colombian coffee is produced not by latifundios but by minifundios—small farms which tend to become increasingly smaller and smaller. Between 1955 and 1960, one hundred thousand new plantations appeared, most of them minute—less than one hectare. Small and very small farmers produce three-quarters of the coffee exported by Colombia, and 96 percent of the plantations are minifundios. "Juan Valdés" smiles in the ads, but in fact atomization of the land is

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* The price breakdown is as follows: 40 percent for middlemen, exporters, and importers; 10 percent for taxes imposed by both governments; 10 percent for transport; 5 percent for publicity by the Pan-American Coffee Bureau; 30 percent for plantation owners; and 5 percent for workers' wages.

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steadily forcing his living standards down and making it easier for the Federación Nacional de Cafeteros, which represents the big landowners and virtually monopolizes trade in the product, to manipulate the situation. Farms of less than a hectare produce starvation incomes—an average of $130 *a year.*

Burn the Crops? Get Married? The Price of Coffee Dictates All

What's this? An electroencephalogram of a lunatic? In 1889 coffee was worth two cents and six years later it had risen to nine; three years later it was down to four, five years after that to two. A typical period. The graph of coffee prices, like those of all tropical products, has always resembled a clinical epilepsy chart—more than ever when it shows the value of coffee in exchange for machinery and industrial products. Colombian President Lleras Restrepo complained that in 1967 his country had to pay fifty-seven sacks of coffee for a jeep that had only cost seventeen sacks in 1950. Figures offered at the same time by Brazilian Minister of Agriculture Herbert Levi were more dramatic: for a tractor, which had cost seventy sacks of coffee fourteen years earlier, Brazil now had to pay three hundred and fifty sacks. When President Getulio Vargas put a bullet through his heart in 1954, the price of coffee played a role in the tragedy: "The crisis in coffee production came," he wrote in his moving final testament, "and the price of our chief product went up. We tried to defend the price and the answer was such violent pressure on our economy that we had to give in." Vargas hoped that his blood would buy salvation for the Brazilian people.

If the 1964 coffee crop had been sold on the U.S. market at 1955 prices, Brazil would have received $200 million more. A drop of only one cent in the price meant a loss of $65 million to the combined producing countries. With the price falling continually between 1964 and 1968, the consuming country—the United States—helped itself to more and more millions from the producing country, Brazil. But for the benefit of whom? Of the coffee-drinking citizen? In July 1968 Brazilian coffee cost 30 percent less in the United States than in January 1964, but U.S. consumers did not pay less: they paid 13 percent more. Thus in the 1964–1968 period middlemen kept the 13 percent as well as the 30 percent, feathering their nests twice over. In the same period the price Brazilian producers received for each sack of coffee dropped by half.[28] Who are the middlemen? Six U.S. concerns control more than a third of the coffee that leaves Brazil, and another six control more than a third of what enters the United States: these firms dominate the business at both ends.[29] Just as United Fruit monopolizes the sale of bananas from Central America, Colombia, and Ecuador, as well as their importation and distribution in the United States, so U.S. firms run the coffee business and Brazil only participates as supplier and victim. The Brazilian state takes over the stocks when overproduction demands the accumulation of reserves.

But isn't there an International Coffee Agreement to stabilize prices on the market? The World Coffee Information Center published a detailed document in Washington in 1970 to try and convince legislators that the United States should keep the agreement in force after September. The report affirms that the agreement's chief beneficiary has been the United States, which consumes more than half the coffee sold in the world. The purchaser of the coffee beans always gets a bargain. In the U.S. market, the trivial rise in price (for the middleman's benefit, as we have seen) has been much less than the general rise of living costs and internal wage levels; U.S. exports rose in value by one-sixth between 1960 and 1969, and in the same period the value of coffee imports dropped. And one must bear in mind that Latin American countries use depreciated foreign currency from coffee sales to buy ever costlier U.S. products.

It is much more profitable to consume coffee than to produce it. In the United States and Europe coffee creates income and jobs and mobilizes substantial capital; in Latin America it pays hunger wages and sharpens economic deformation. It provides work for more than 600,000 people in the United States: those who distribute and sell Latin American coffee there earn infinitely more than the Brazilians, Colombians, Guatemalans, Salvadoreans, and Haitians who plant and harvest it on the plantations. And incredible as it seems, coffee—so ECLA tells us—puts more wealth into European state coffers than it leaves in the hands of the producing countries. In effect, in 1960 and 1961 the total taxes levied on Latin American coffee by European Economic Community countries amounted to about $700 million,

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while supplier countries (in terms of the f.o.b. value of exports) only got $600 million.[30] The rich countries that preach free trade apply stern protectionist policies against the poor countries: they turn everything they touch—including the underdeveloped countries' own production—into gold for themselves and rubbish for others. The international coffee market operates so exactly like a funnel that Brazil recently agreed to impose high taxes on its soluble coffee exports, a reverse protectionism designed to protect the interests of competing U.S. manufacturers. Instant coffee made in Brazil is cheaper and better than that made by the flourishing U.S. industry; but then, of course, in a system of free competition some are freer than others.

In this kingdom of organized absurdity, natural disasters become blessings from heaven for the producing countries. They raise prices and permit the mobilization of accumulated reserves. Fierce frosts wrecked the 1969 harvest in Brazil and sealed the fate of many producers, especially the weakest, but at the same time pushed up coffee prices on the world market and appreciably lightened the "stock" of sixty million sacks—the equivalent of two-thirds of Brazil's external debt—which the state had accumulated to defend prices. The warehoused coffee, progressively deteriorating and losing value, could have ended up in a bonfire. It would not have been the first time. The collapse of prices and the shrinkage in consumption after the 1929 crisis caused Brazil to burn seventy-eight million sacks; thus the efforts of 200,000 people during five harvests went up in flames. This was a typical crisis in a colonial economy: *it came from outside*. Apart from burning the coffee, the fall of the planters' and exporters' profits in the 1930s produced a bonfire in currency values. Such is the normal Latin American mechanism to "socialize the losses" of the export sector: losses of foreign currency are compensated in national currency through devaluation.

The consequences of rising prices are no better. While they lead to more sowing for more production, and multiply the area devoted to the fortunate crop, this acts as a boomerang since an abundance of the product demolishes prices and leads to disaster. Such was the fate of Colombia in 1958 when it harvested the coffee sown so enthusiastically four years earlier, and similar cycles have recurred throughout that country's history. Colombia is so dependent on coffee and its external price that "in Antioquia the marriage curve responds sensitively to the coffee-price curve. Par for the course in a dependent structure: even the propitious moment for a declaration of love on an Antioquian hillside is decided on the New York Stock Exchange."[31]

The Ten Years that Emptied Colombia's Veins

Back in the 1940s the noted Colombian economist Luis Eduardo Nieto Arteta wrote an apologia for coffee. Coffee had achieved what neither mines nor tobacco, nor indigo nor quinine, had managed to produce in the country's previous economic cycles: it had given birth to a mature and progressive order. Textile factories and other light industries had arisen in coffee-producing areas—Antioquia, Caldas, Valle del Cauca, Cundinamarca—and not by accident. A democracy made up of small farmers raising coffee had turned Colombians into "moderate and sober people . . . The strongest premise for normality in the functioning of Colombian political life has been the attainment of our own kind of economic stability. Coffee has produced it, and with it tranquillity and moderation."[32]

Violence soon erupted again. For all the panegyrics, coffee had no magic with which to end Colombia's long history of revolt and bloody repression. This time—for ten years, from 1948 to 1957—small and large plantations, desert and farmland, valley and forest and Andean plateau were engulfed in peasant war; it put whole communities to flight, generated revolutionary guerrillas and criminal bands, and turned the country into a cemetery: it is estimated to have left a toll of 180,000 dead. The bloodbath coincided with a period of economic euphoria for the ruling class. But is the prosperity of a class really identifiable with the well-being of a country?

The violence began with a confrontation between Liberal and Conservative parties, but the dynamic of class hostilities steadily sharpened its class-struggle character. The Liberal leader Jorge Eliécer Gaitán—known half contemptuously and half fearfully to his own party's oligarchy as "The Wolf" or "The Idiot"—had won great popular prestige and threatened the established order. When he was

shot dead, the hurricane was unleashed. First the spontaneous *bogotazo*—an uncontrollable human tide in the streets of the capital; then the violence spread to the countryside, where bands organized by the Conservatives had for some time been sowing terror. The bitter taste of hatred, long in the peasants' mouths, provoked an explosion; the government sent police and soldiers to cut off testicles, slash pregnant women's bellies, and throw babies in the air to catch on bayonet points—the order of the day being "don't leave even the seed." Liberal Party sages shut themselves in their homes, never abandoning their good manners and the gentlemanly tone of their manifestos, or went into exile abroad. It was a war of incredible cruelty and it became worse as it went on, feeding the lust for vengeance. New ways of killing came into vogue: the *corte corbata*, for example, left the tongue hanging from the neck. Rape, arson, and plunder went on and on; people were quartered or burned alive, skinned or slowly cut in pieces; troops razed villages and plantations and rivers ran red with blood. Bandits spared lives in exchange for tribute, in money or loads of coffee, and the repressive forces expelled and pursued innumerable families, who fled to seek refuge in the mountains. Women gave birth in the woods. The first guerrilla leaders, determined to take revenge but without clear political vision, took to destroying for destruction's sake, letting off blood and steam without purpose.

The names adopted by the protagonists of violence—Gorilla, Evil Shadow, The Condor, Redskin, The Vampire, Black Bird, Terror of the Plains—hardly suggest a revolutionary epic, yet the scent of social rebellion was in the couplets sung by their followers:

> I'm just a *campesino*,
> I didn't start the fight,
> But if they come asking for trouble,
> They'll get what's coming to them.

There is no doubt that indiscriminate terror, mixed with the cry for justice, had emerged in the Mexican Revolution. In Colombia many just ran amok, yet that violent decade gave birth to the political guerrillas who later raised the banner of social revolution over broad areas they came to occupy and control. Hounded by the repressors,

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the peasants took to the mountains to organize agriculture and self-defense. The so-called independent republics continued to offer refuge to the persecuted after Conservatives and Liberals signed a peace pact in Madrid. In an ambiance of toasts and mutual goodwill, the leaders of both parties agreed to take turns in power under a banner of national unity, and then began the "clean-up" operations against foci of subversion. In one of these operations alone—the crushing of the rebels in Marquetalia—1.5 million projectiles were fired, 20,000 bombs were dropped, and 16,000 soldiers were mobilized on the ground and in the air.

At the height of the violence one official said, "Don't bring me stories, bring me ears." Could the sadism of the repression and the ferocity of the war be explained clinically? Were they the result of inherent evil in the protagonists? A man who cut off the hands of a priest, set fire to his body and his house, and later cut him in pieces and threw him in a sewer, cried after the war was over: "I'm not guilty. Leave me alone." He had lost—yet in a certain sense retained—his reason: the horror of all the violence merely exposed the horror of the system. For coffee did not bring happiness and harmony as Nieto Arteta had prophesied. It is true that coffee opened up railroads, highways, and the Rio Magdalena to navigation, and that thanks to coffee enough capital was accumulated to found some industries. But the ascendancy of coffee did not affect either the oligarchical social order or the dependence of the economy on foreign power centers; on the contrary, both became far more oppressive for Colombians. Toward the end of the violent decade, the United Nations published the results of a study of nutrition in Colombia (and there has been absolutely no improvement since then): 88 percent of Bogota schoolchildren suffered from avitaminosis, 78 percent from riboflavinosis, and over half were below normal weight; avitaminosis affected 71 percent of workers and 78 percent of Tensa Valley peasants.[33] The study showed "a marked insufficiency of protective foods—milk and its derivatives, eggs, meat, fish, and some fruits and vegetables—which together provide protein, vitamins, and salt." It is not only the flash of gunfire that reveals social tragedy. Statistics show that Colombia has seven times more homicides than the United States, and that one in every four Colombians of active age has no regular job. Every year 250,000 people come onto the labor market while industry fails to generate new jobs; the latifundio-minifundio system not only cannot absorb more labor, but it constantly banishes more people to swell the ranks of the unemployed in city slums. In Colombia over a million children do not attend school. This does not discourage the system from running forty-one public and private universities, each with its own faculties and departments, to educate the children of the elite and middle class.*

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The World Market Casts Its Spell over Central America

Central American lands were comparatively unmolested up until the middle of the past century. In addition to food, the area produced cochineal and indigo with modest capital, a meager labor force, and few worries. Both the indigo plant and the cochineal bug, busily multiplying on the prickly surface of the nopal cactus, were in steady demand in European textile industries, but both of these natural pigments met a synthetic death around 1850, when German chemists invented aniline and other cheaper dyes. Thirty years after this victory of the laboratory over nature it was coffee's turn. Central America was transformed: by 1880 its newborn plantations were raising almost one-sixth of the world's coffee production. Coffee locked the region firmly into the world market. First English, then German, and finally U.S. buyers gave life to a native coffee bourgeoisie, which became the political power after the revolution led by Justo Rufino Barrios early in the 1870s. Agricultural specialization, dictated from abroad, set off a frenzy of land and labor grabbing: the Central American latifundio of today was born under the banner of free labor.

Great tracts of idle land—belonging to no one, or to the Church, or to the state—passed into private hands, and Indian communities were frenetically plundered. Peasants who declined to sell their land were hauled off into the army; plantations became human compost

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* Professor Germán Rama found that some of these venerable groves of academe contain in their libraries, like some precious patrimony, complete bound volumes of the Spanish edition of the *Reader's Digest*.[34]

Seminar in Colombia

Fulbright Commission Project

November 15, 1997

Barbara M. Welder

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Project and Objectives

Project: **A Resource Book for Reading/Visualizing Two Colombian Novels: Maria by Jorge Isaacs and Love in the Time of Cholera by Gabriel Garcia Márquez.**

Note:My ***Photographs*** were done on location in Colombia (1997). Suggested locations are **provided by both Isaacs and Garcia Márquez** as well as selected literary critics.

Objectives

1) To assist readers in both the literal and **visual interpretation** of each novel.
2) To assist readers with additional data on the following:

a) **Geography** of each novel
b) **Background** of each author
c) **Summary** of novel
d) Selected Literary Criticism
e) Bibliography
f) **Photographs of selected locations named in both novels**
g) **Internet Resources** for research

Secondary Objectives

1) To assist students in understanding all aspects of Colombia as visited by instructor during Fulbright Seminar in Colombia,1997
2) To assist students in the appreciation of other literary works by these notable authors.

Additional Presentation of Project

A complete video is also being produced regarding my entire trip to South America. A computerized version is available on PowerPoint. This video has been shown to students and staff in my educational institution.

It will be shown at the Pan-American Round Table meeting in January. This project and the video will be available in our library.

Geographical Background

Cali, Colombia

Cali, Colombia es la tercera ciudad con casi dos millones de habitantes, es denominada la "ciudad amable del país" por el espíritu de sus gentes. Es el mayor centro agroindustiral del país siendo sus industrias mas importantes la azucarera (Jorge Isaacs era el dueno de "*El Paraíso*" una hacienda que produce el azúzar). (Fulbright 21)

Jorge Isaacs

(1837-1895)

Colombian Novelist and Poet

La vida

Jorge Isaacs, autor de María nació en Cali el primero de abril de 1837. Su familia venía del Chocó, siemdo su pardre un comerciente jamaiquino de origen inglés. Jorge Enrique Isaacs y su madre Manuela Ferrer, de origen catalán, nacida en Nóvita. Se comenzó a escribir María en 1864 y se editó en Bogotá en 1867.

Isaac was a descendant of English Jews and Spanish immigrants who left Jamaica to improve their prospects in Colombia. He was educated in Bogotá. He enlisted in the army against the revolutionary General Melo in 1854. He also fought against the forces of General Cupriano de Mosquera in 1860.

He began to write poetry at *El Paraíso* which he managed in the early 1860s. He served in governmental positions as Secretary to the Governor of the Cuaca Valley, and he was elected to Congress in 1878. He was expelled from Congress because of his revolutionary activities. He was also interested in the Indian tribes along the Magdalena River, and he published a study in 1887. He died in 1895 and his grave is in Medellín.

Like many Colombian writers of the 19th century, Jorge Isaacs considered himself a poet. But he only published one slim volume of verse and his fame rests solidly on his extraordinary novel, Maria, in which we can clearly detect poetic moments.

MARIA

La obra

María es una de las novelas cumbres del romanticismo universal. Trata sobre la historia del amor frustrado de dos adolescentes teniendo por marco el paisaje esplendoroso del Valle Del Cauca. María, la heroína de la novela, muere de amor, ante la imposibilidad de ver realizados sus deseos.

The initial scene, describing Efraín's leaving to go to school in Bogotá, is filled with foreboding and copious tears. He journeys to London to study medicine and the lovers are separated forever. Both know that the love is unconditional as Efraín swears to love María forever. María goes to her grave before her loved one, hastening home from England can reach her side. The reader soon learns that the love with never by consummated because of María's fatal illness (epilepsy) and premature death.

The love story is told in retrospect by Efraín some years after the event makes up the heart of the novel. The love between Efraín and María is based on a mutual attraction for each other since childhood. As second cousins, they grew up in a happy household.

Near the beginning of the novel (Chapter 2), Efraín says, " Así el cielo, los horizontes, las pampas y las cumbres del Cauca, hacen enmudecer a quien los contempla." (The sky, the horizons, meadows and peaks of the River Cauca leave those who contemplate them speechless). Allusions to nature recur throughout the novel, reflecting the joy or the sadness felt by Efraín and María. Isaacs captures nature in all its beauty of El Paraíso in this essentially tragic story.

Many aspects of the novel have an autobiographical slant, beginning with the confessional first-person narration by Efraín, who serves the dual role of protagonist and narrator of the entire book. Isaac's father, like Efrain's was Jewish, emigrated from Jamaica, and converted to

Catholicism when he married an upper class Colombian woman. Efrain has Jewish blood as did María before her conversion (Ester).
For many years this novel was featured only as a traumatically tragic love story; however since about 1950, it has begun to be appreciated more and more for its literary technique.

The secondary focus of the novel is one of realistic description of local customs. For example, another pair of lovers (contrast to Efraín and María) are Nay and Sinar, African lovers whose love is consummated physically, but who are separated forever by the sea.

Finally, there is a whole range of characters representing the various inhabitants of the Cauca Valley where the novel takes place: José and his family represent the humble, hardworking honest criollo. Also, Bruno and Remigia (black slaves) along with Custodio and daughter Salomé (mulattos) are described.

Two wealthy landowning families, Carlos's and Emigio's are both friends of Efraín who show that they have strong family bonds and are tied together and dominated by the father figure. In Efraín's case, he strongly obeys his father, even if he does not want to. The other cross-sections of society represented are the various types of Indians of the Cuaca Valley.

Despite, the title bearing María's name, the novel appears to be Efrain's story. It is his whole life story unfolding in retrospect, and he appears in practically every scene, while María is absent. Efraín character is developed, as we see a wide range of his emotions.

Isaac believed that there was a profound influence during his formative childhood years in *El Paríso*, the lovely country estate viewed in this project.

Historia de la Hacienda El Paraíso

La casa de la Sierra era una parte de la Hacienda "El Paraíso y fue constuiída por don Victor Cabal, acaudalado ganadero burgueno, ex-alcalde de Cali. Fue construida en 1815 y vendida en 1828 a don Jorge Enrique Isaacs, el padre del autor. Esta casa estuvo en poder de la familia Isaacs hasta 1858. El 18 de abril fue adquirida por el Departamento del Valle y su primera restauración la realizó el maestro Luis Alberto Acuna el 11 de junio de 1954.

Photo Images

1) **Map of Location of *El Paraíso***

2) **Hacienda *El Paríso***

3) El Paraíso

4) Entrance Gate of *El Paraíso*

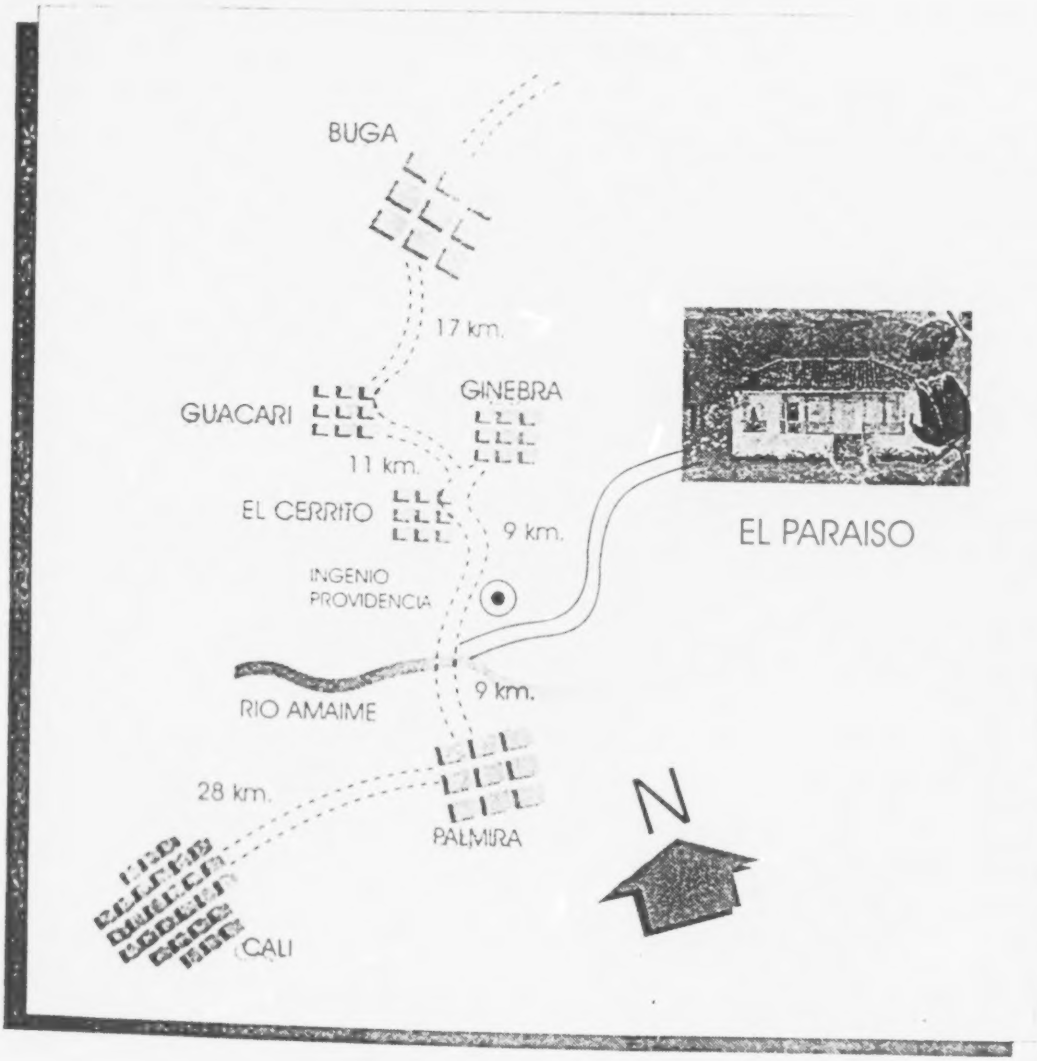
5) Sculpture of Jorge Isaacs

6) Photoe of the "real María" (House interior)

7) Photo of Efraín's room (House interior)

Mapa (Dónde está El Paraíso)

Hacienda "El Paraiso".



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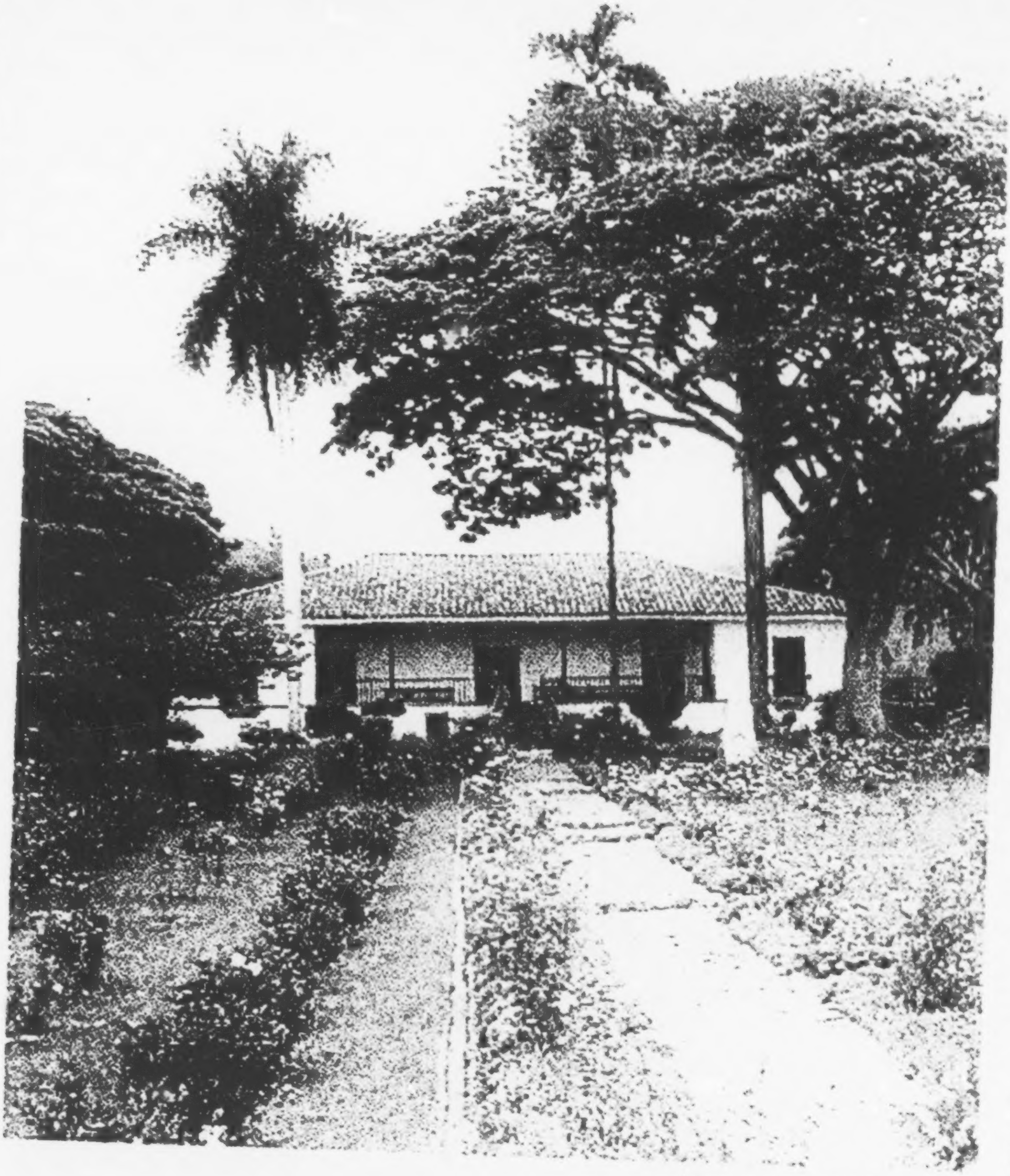

Hacienda El Paraíso

María

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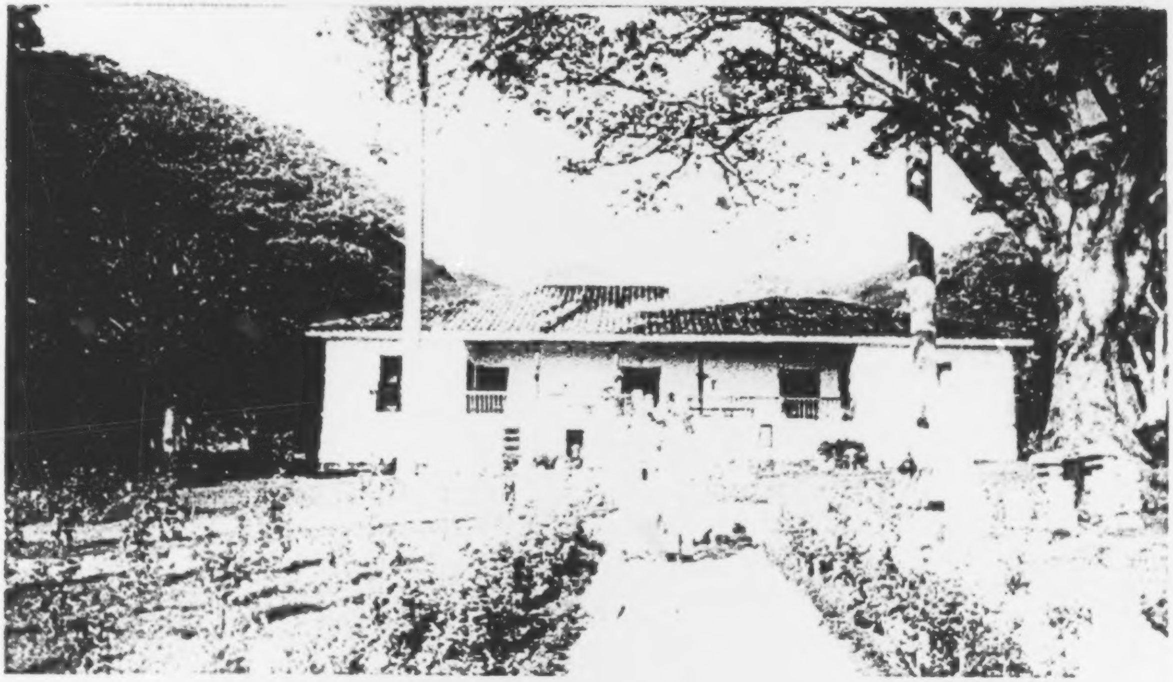

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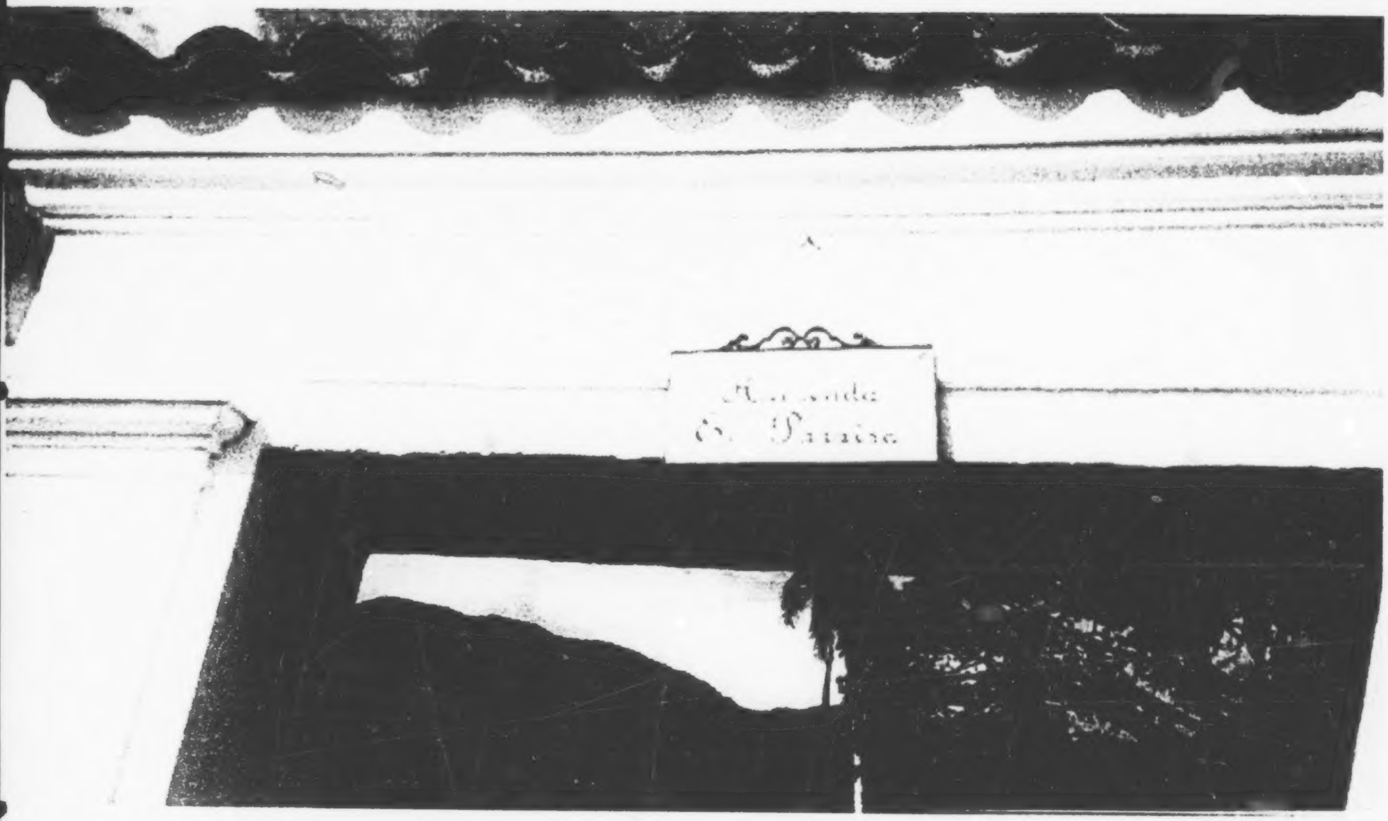

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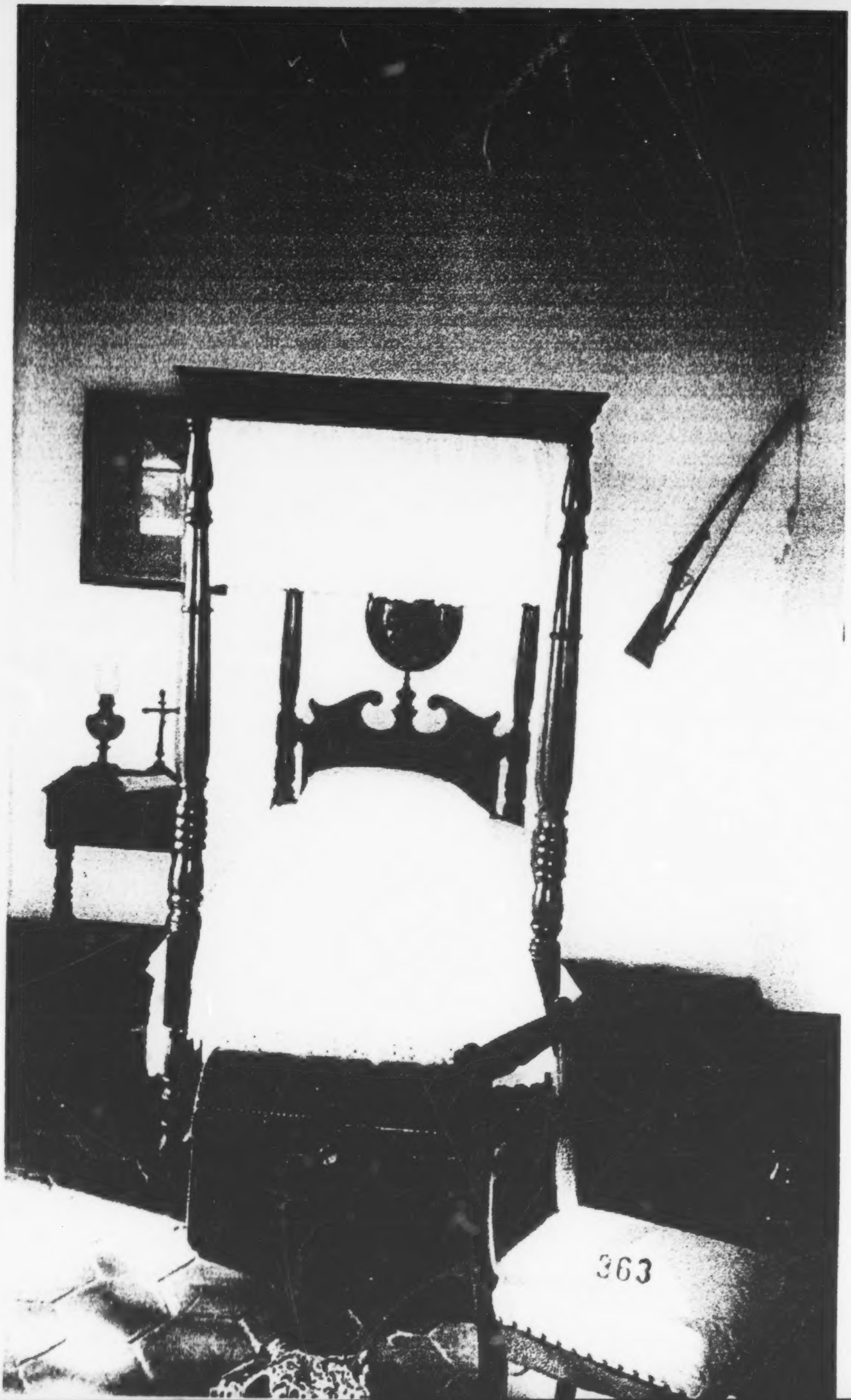
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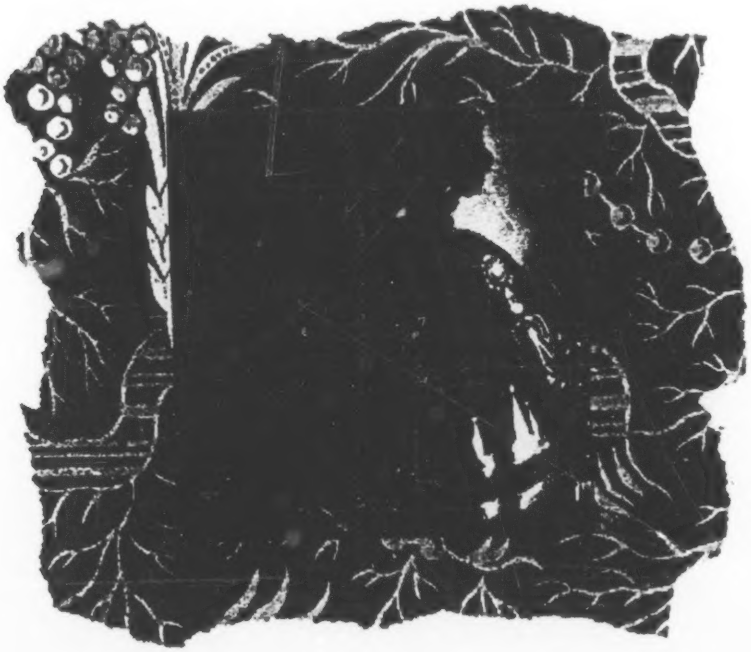
LOVE IN THE TIME OF CHOLERA



Gabriel García Márquez

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Geographical Background

Cartagena de las Indias

Cartagena, Colombia. Esta ciudad fue declarada por las Naciones Unidas "Patrimonio Histórico de la Humanidad" y es el centro turístico más importante del Caribe colombiano. Fue fundada en 1533, sus murallas y fortificaciones datan del siglo XVI, y fue uno de los principales baluartes del imperio espanol. (Fulbright 21).

Cartagena también se ha convertido en el lugar en donde Gabriel García Márquez escribió varias obras maestras, una de las cuales es El amor en los tiempos de cólera.

Life of the Author

Gabriel García Marquez

(1928 -)

The author was born in Aracataca, Colombia, in 1928. He attended the University of Bogotá and later worked as a reporter for the Colombian newspaper **El Espectador** and a foreign correspondent in Rome, Paris, Barcelona, Caracas, and New York. The prolific author of novels and collections of stories includes the international best- selling **One Hundred Years of Solitude**. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1982. Recent publications include **News of a Kidnapping** (1996).

El amor en los tiempos de cólera

(1988)

The novel is García Márquez's version of the 19th century romantic novel. Like María, it is traditional in form, eary to read and one character demonstrates a conditional, never ending love.

Set in Cartagena, the time sequence stretches over sime sixty years (between the late 1870s to the early 1930s). The novel covers the life span of its two main characters. Also like Maria, the narrative starts and recapitulates the past years. The previous fifty years are told and then the novel moves on to the conclusion two years later.

According to the Romantic tradition, the love affair is somewhat autobiographical (García Márquez has stated that the characters in part represent his parents).

In the initial episode, a man named Saint-Amour took his life because of unrequited love. Actually, the truth (a very tongue-in-cheek tone) is that the man was well loved, but he chose to take his life because he is overtaken by the infirmities of old age. He is never mentioned again, but the death does pose the concept that even love may be stronger than old age or death.

The novel traces the lives of a triangle, the heroine (Fermina) who is not in love with the man she marries (Dr. Juvenal Urbino de la Calle). For fifty years, nine months and four days, her long adoring lover, the puny, myopic, constipated lover (Florentino Ariza) squanders his passion over more than 600 sexual affairs, while waiting for his beloved to come around to loving him. She finally does – as a seventy-two year old widow. In the end, the two lovers (Fermina Daza and Florentino Ariza (in their seventies) finally consummate their bond and sail down the Magdalena River under the yellow flag of cholera abroad for "toda la vida" (forever). The humorous treatment of the subject is evident from the title that associates love with cholera. In fact, the symptoms of love, dizziness, sickness and diarrhea- are not unlike those of the illness often epidemic in Latin America.

Florentino is a member of the mestizo/mulatto population of Colombia. He socially inferior to Fermina, but he is desperately in love with her. He is an avid reader and a professional writer of love letters; hence, the allusions to the "decoding of messages" while the two lovers communicate by telegraph.

The author has presented the protagonist, Florentino, as "todo amor" (all love). His outlandish sexual behavior is a manifestation of his being "un solitario necesitado de amor" (a solitary man in need of love). Toward the end, confronted by his aging, beloved, Fermina, he answers " de inmediato sin un temblor en la voz: Es que me he conservado virgen para ti" (without hesitation in a steady voice: "I have remained a virgin for you"). She chooses to accept this, even though she does not believe him.

Such love seems to be García Márquez's final answer to the dilemma when the aging couple finally realize that "el amor era un amor cualquier tiempo y en cualquier parte, pero tanto más denso, tanto más cerca de la muerte" (love was love any time and place, but more solid the closer it came to death).

Catholicism when he married an upper class Colombian woman. Efraín has Jewish blood as did María before her conversion (Ester).
For many years this novel was featured only as a traumatically tragic love story; however since about 1950, it has begun to be appreciated more and more for its literary technique.

The secondary focus of the novel is one of realistic description of local customs. For example, another pair of lovers (contrast to Efraín and María) are Nay and Sinar, African lovers whose love is consummated physically, but who are separated forever by the sea.

Finally, there is a whole range of characters representing the various inhabitants of the Cauca Valley where the novel takes place: José and his family represent the humble, hardworking honest criollo. Also, Bruno and Remigia (black slaves) along with Custodio and daughter Salomé (mulattos) are described.

Two wealthy landowning families, Carlos's and Emigio's are both friends of Efraín who show that they have strong family bonds and are tied together and dominated by the father figure. In Efraín's case, he strongly obeys his father, even if he does not want to. The other cross-sections of society represented are the various types of Indians of the Cuaca Valley.

Despite, the title bearing María's name, the novel appears to be Efraín's story. It is his whole life story unfolding in retrospect, and he appears in practically every scene, while María is absent. Efraín character is developed, as we see a wide range of his emotions.

Isaac believed that there was a profound influence during his formative childhood years in *El Paríso*, the lovely country estate viewed in this project.

Historia de la Hacienda El Paraíso

La casa de la Sierra era una parte de la Hacienda "El Paraíso y fue constulída por don Victor Cabal, acaudalado ganadero burgueno, ex-alcalde de Cali. Fue construida en 1815 y vendida en 1828 a don Jorge Enrique Isaacs, el padre del autor. Esta casa extuvo en poder de la familia Isaacs hasta 1858. El 18 de abril fue adquirida por el Departamento del Valle y su primera restauración la realizó el maestro Luis Alberto Acuna el 11 de junio de 1954.

The characters appear to represent an interesting cross-section of Colombia. Dr. Urbino, a doctor and member of the upper classes is presented as a sort of caricature representing the European values. Long sections of the book are devoted to him. The reader witnesses his relationship with Fermina Dava, who expects him to be a husband as well as a doctor.

Urbino dies while trying to save his escaped multilingual parrot high up on a branch in his garden. "He released him (the parrot) immediately because the ladder slipped from under his feet and for an instant he was suspended in air and then " . . . he realized that he had died without Communion, without time to repent of anything or to say goodbye to anyone, at seven minutes after four on Pentecost Sunday."

The reader will find the description in the novel of the scenes in Cartagena de las Indias, the Sierra, and the Magdalena River.

Order for Photo Images Based on Quotations

1. *Cartagena de las Indias*

'How noble this city must be," he (Dr. Urbino) would say, "for we four hundred years trying to finish it off and we have still not succeeded." (111)

2) *The Stature of the Liberator*

"The Liberator was almost hidden among the African palm trees and the globes of the new streetlights, traffic was congested because Mass had ended, and not a seat was empty in the venerable and noisy Parish Café. "(12)

3) *The Dome of the Cathedral*

" A radiant Thursday was breaking over the golden dome of the city of the Viceroys . . ." (346)

4) *The Parrot of Dr. Urbino*

"He had forgotten that he ever owned a *parrot* from Paramaribo whom he loved as if he were a human being . . . " (41)

5) *The Garden of Dr. Urbino*

"The patio was like an abbey cloister, with a stone fountain

6) The Black and White Tiles

"From the entrance door to the kitchen, the floor was covered with black and white checkerboard tiles . . . " (18)

7) The Lighthouse of the Old Fort

" The only thing Florentino Ariza salvaged from that disaster was the loving shelter of the lighthouse." (41)

8) The Street of the Horsedrawn Carriages

"Florentino Ariza got off at the Plaza of the Carriages, which was the end of the line . . . " (181)

9) La Manga Residential District

" Across the bay, in the residential district of la Manga, Dr. Juvenal
Urbino's house stood in another time. (18)

10) Home of Fermina Daza in La Manga District

"One-story, spacious and cool, it had a portico with Doric columns on the outside terrace, which commanded a view of the still, miasmic water . . ." (18)

10) *Home of Fermina Daza in La Manga District*

"One-story, spacious and cool, it had a portico with Doric columns on the outside terrace, which commanded a view of the still, miasmic water . . ." (18)

11) *The Boarded Windows from Cholera*

12) *The Lake Dwellings of the Magdalena*

"They flew over the lake dwellings of the Trojas in Cataca, painted n lunatic colors, with pens holding iguanas raised for food . . . ." (121)

11. *The Magdalena River*

"Florentino Ariza . . . realized that the Magdalena, the father of waters, one of the great rivers of the world, was only an illusion of memory." (331)

12) *The Magdalena Forever*

"And how long do you think we can keep up this goddamn coming and going?" he said.
Florentino Ariza had kept his answer ready for fifty-three years, seven months, and eleven days and nights.
"Forever," he said. (348)

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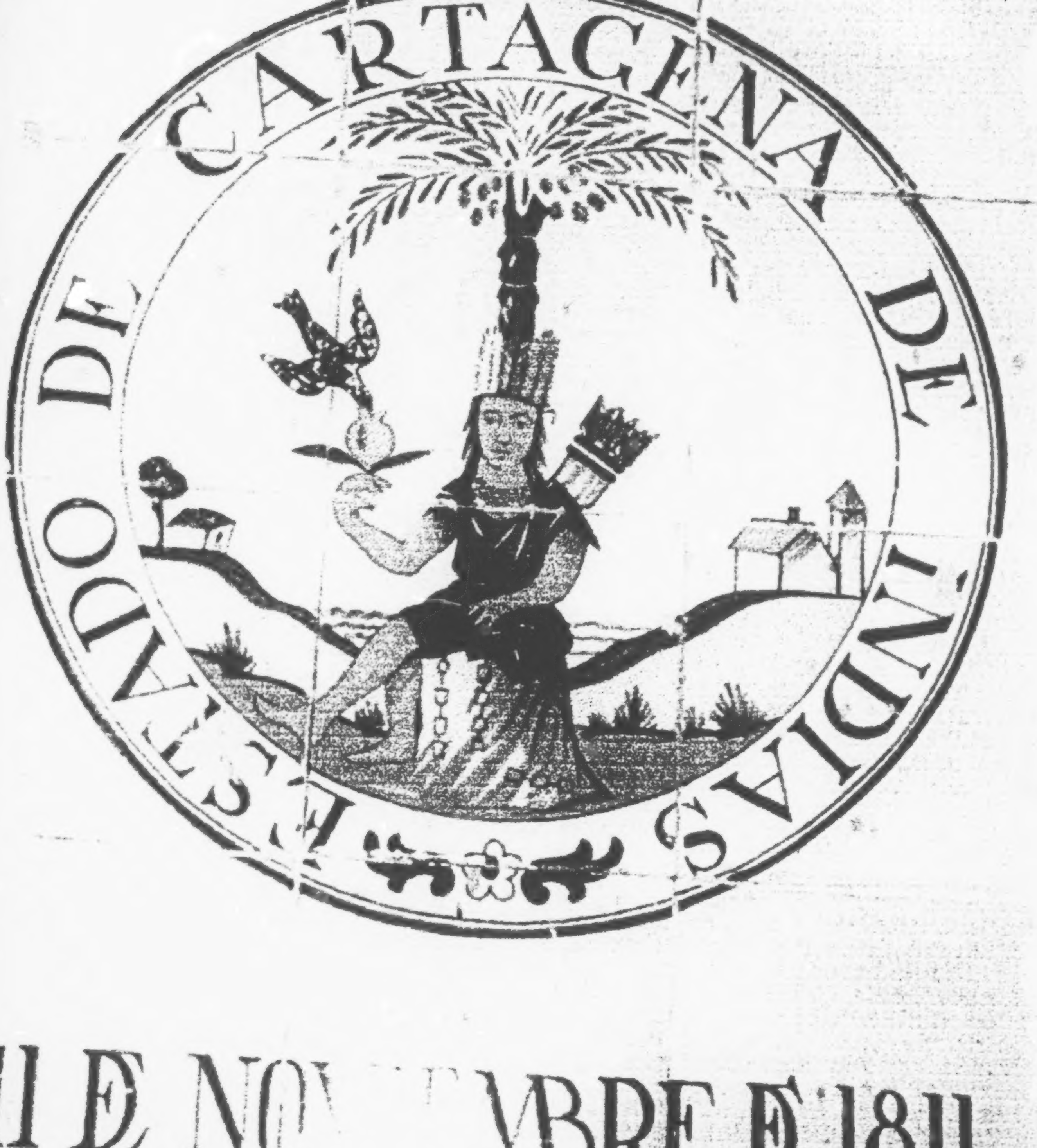
13) Home of Gabriel Garcia Márquez


ESTADO DE CARTAGENA DE INDIAS

11 DE NOV[illegible]MBRE DE 1811

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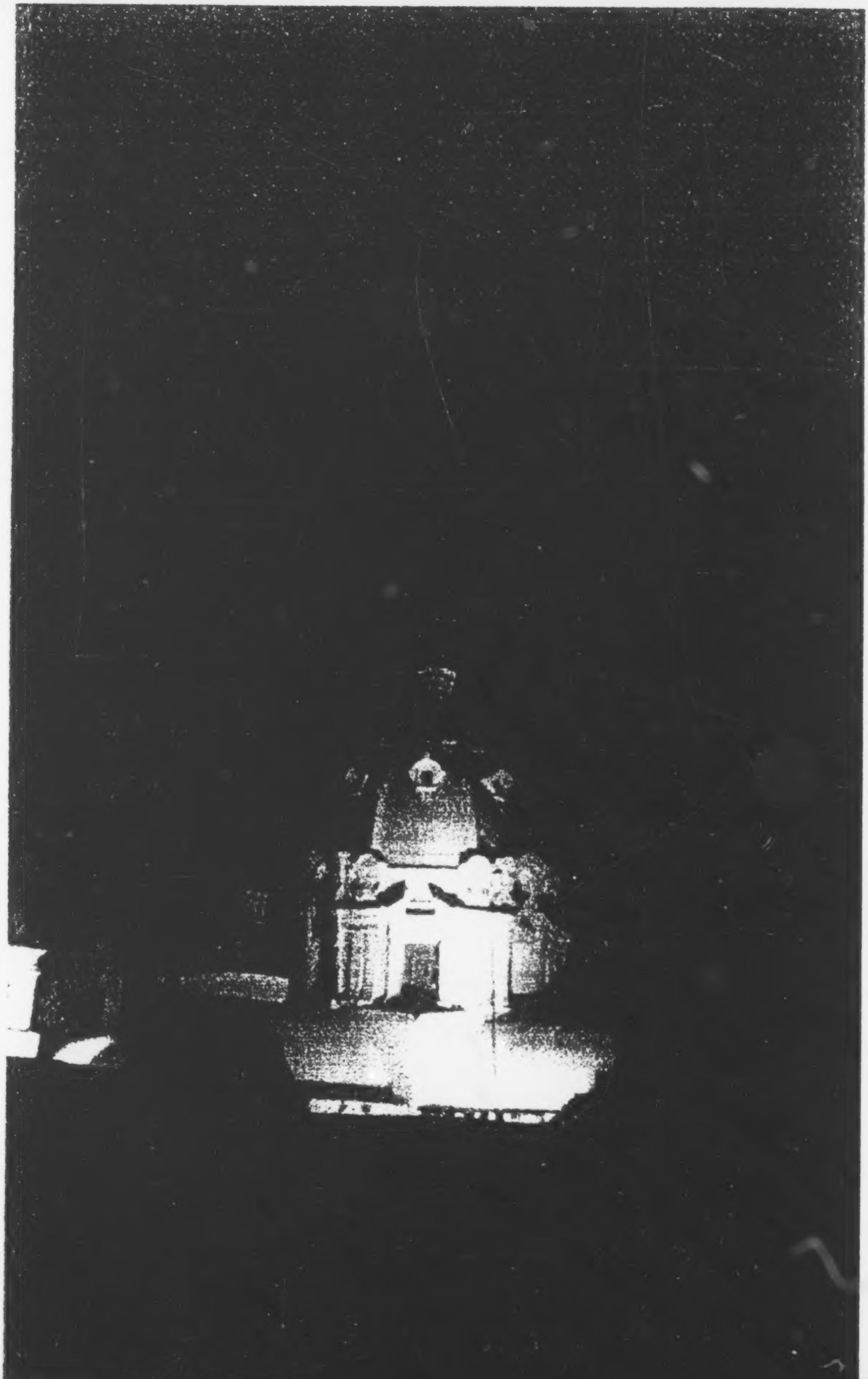

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The Garden

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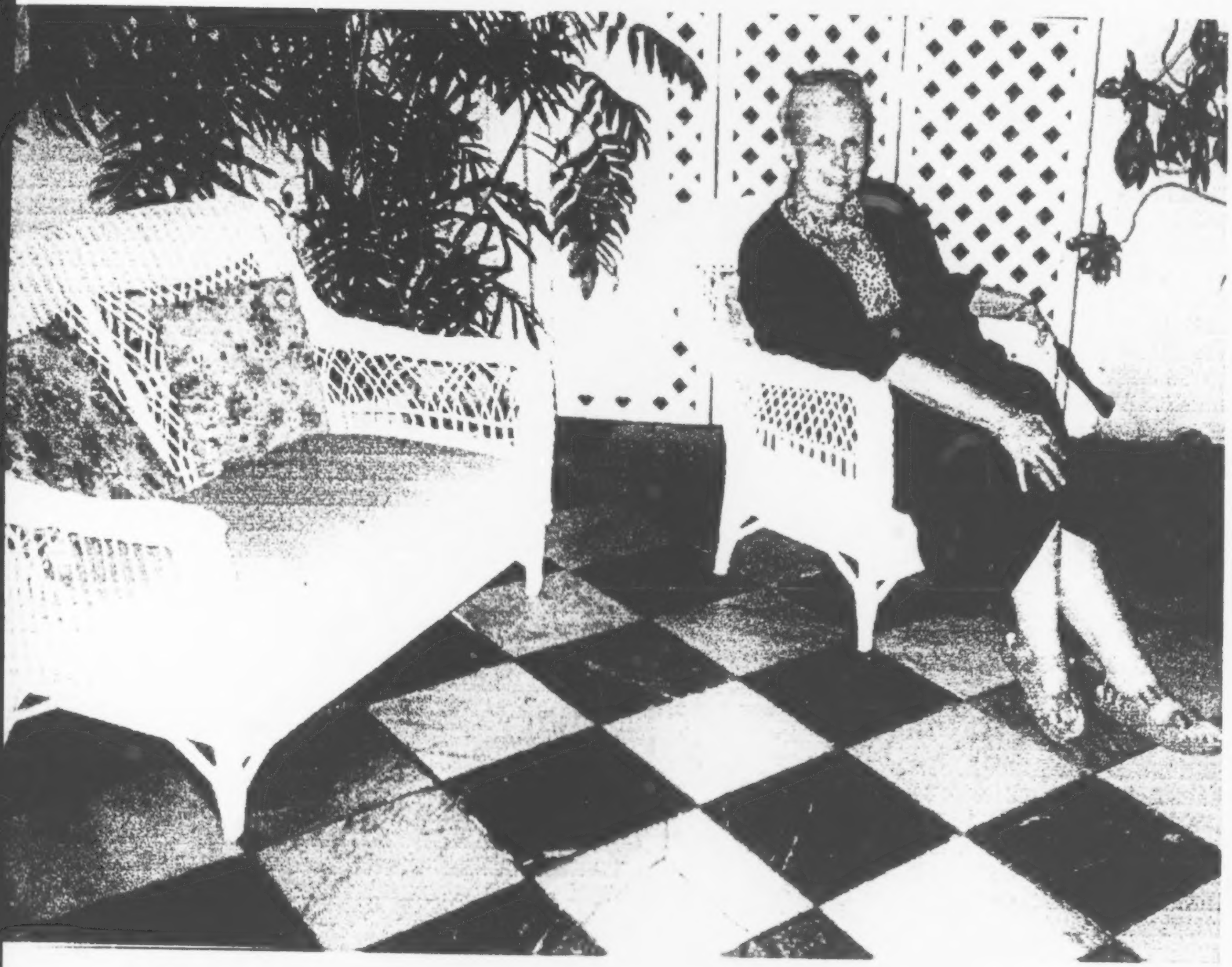

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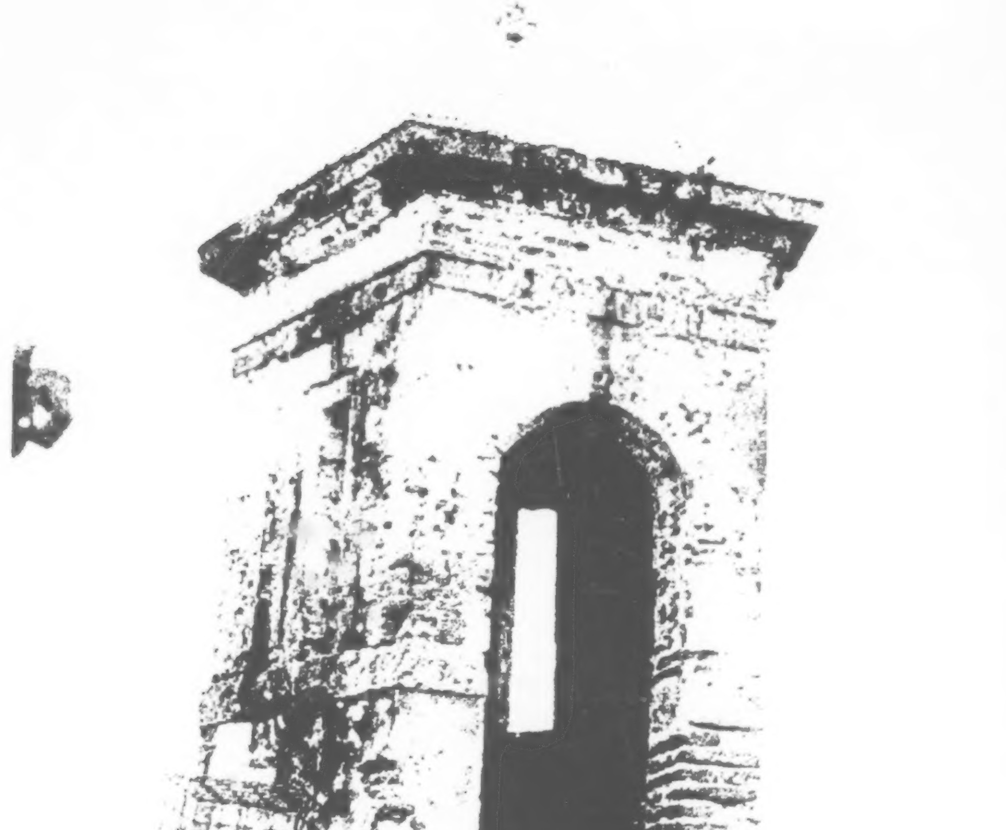

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The Courtship

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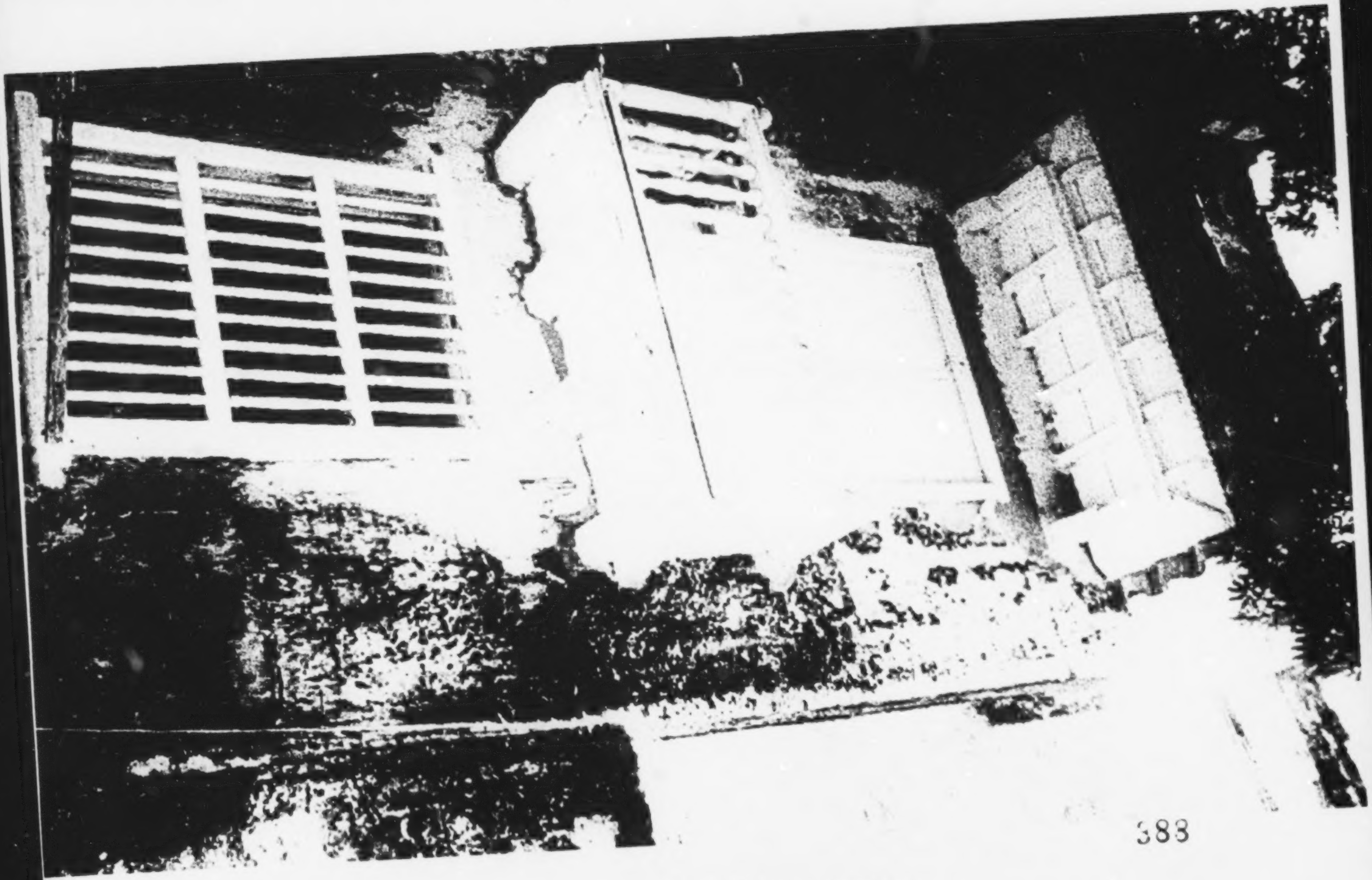

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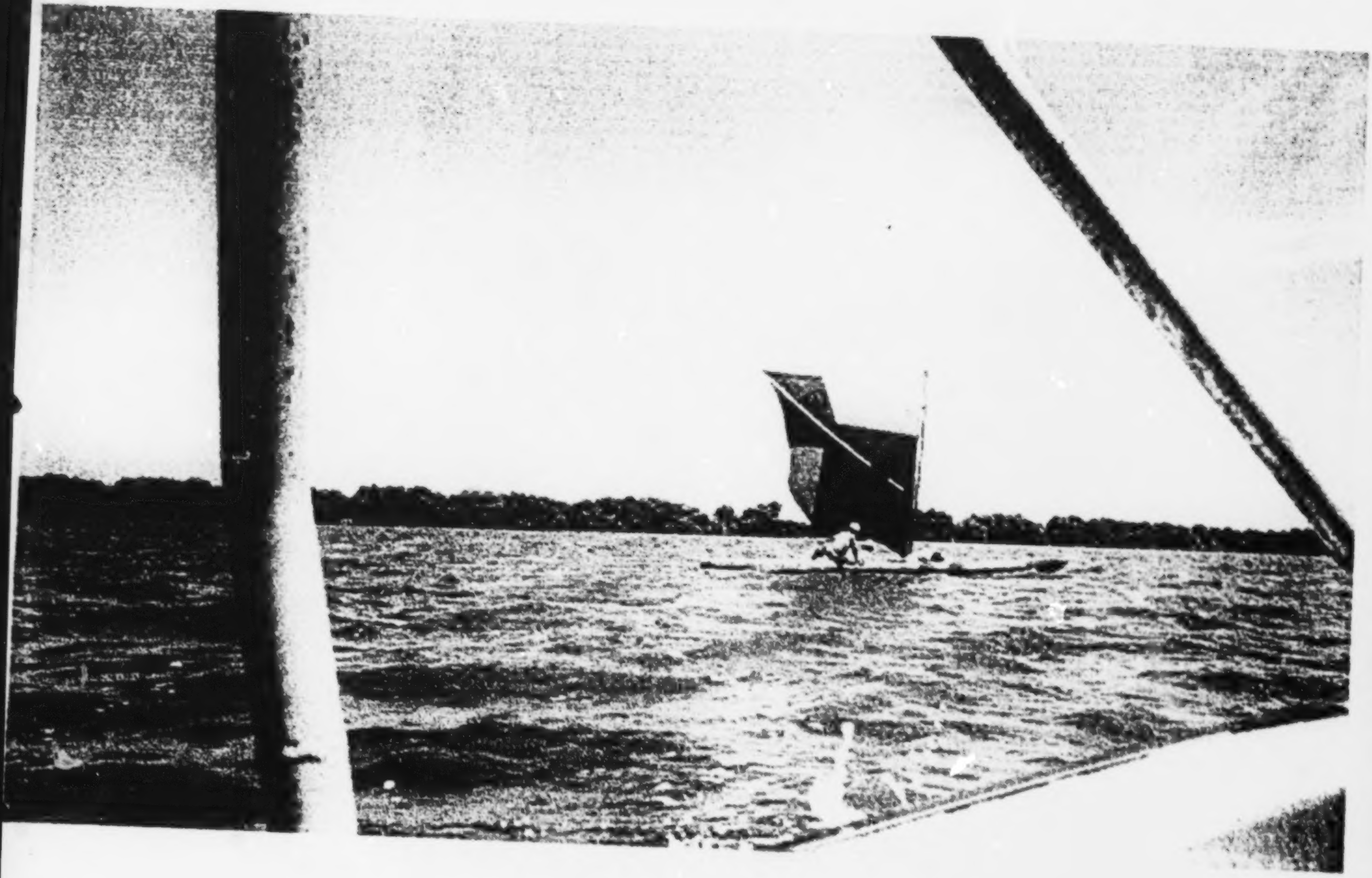

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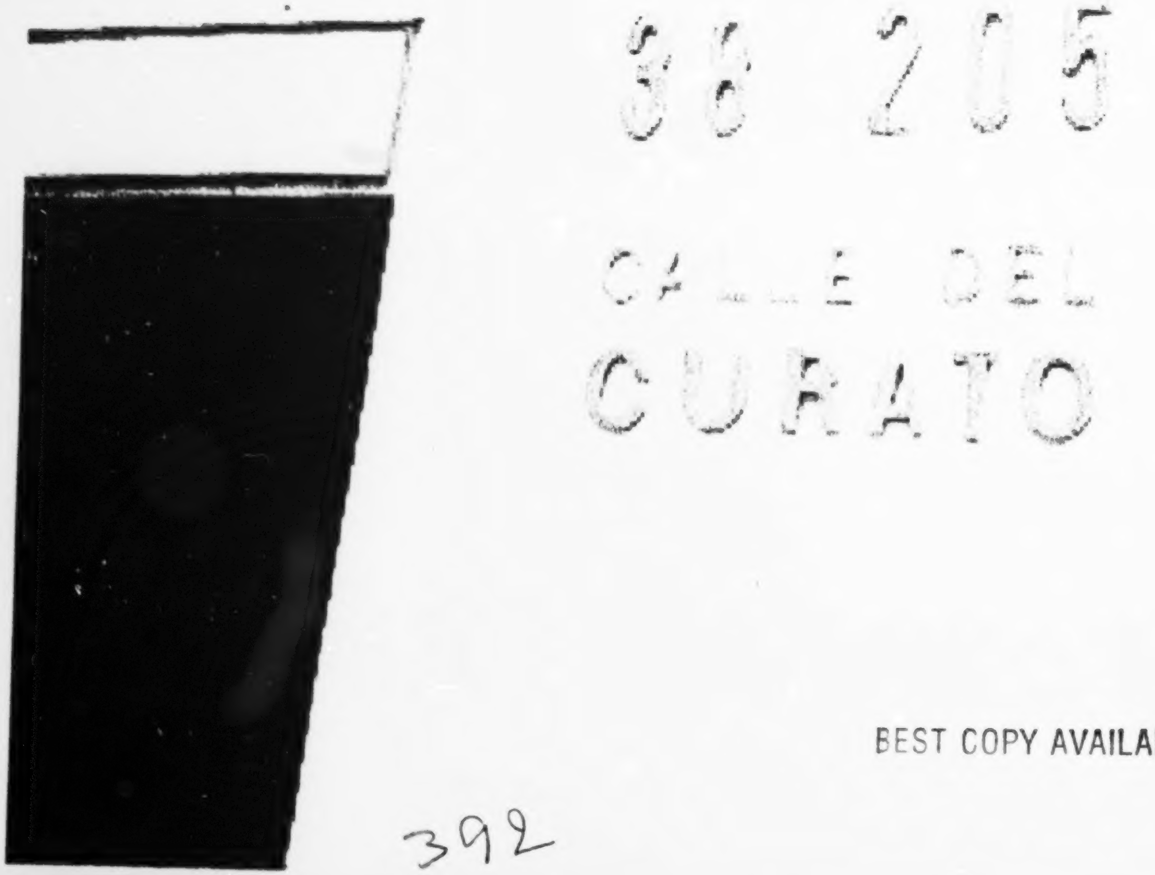
Home of Garcia Marquez



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INTERNET RESOURCES

La caza del tigre

Jorge Isaacs (Cauca, 1837-1895) es el autor de la excepcional *María* (1867). *María* dista de ser una novela interpretada de un modo unívoco y siempre aprobatorio. La crítica le mezquina de ordinario lo que el público lector de lengua castellana le ha brindado, casi desde la primera hora, hasta convertirla en una de las obras más leídas y con mayor número de ediciones en la literatura de nuestra lengua.

Es, de las novelas decimonónicas, la historia de amor funesto más sugestiva, sentida y llena de signficado. La novela narra los amores de dos jóvenes adolescentes que dan contenida vida a su primer amor . . . . El encantamiento sensual o la vehemencia de la pasión juvenil es sublimada en objetos o manifestaciones diversas del amor por el otro --flores, guedejas, pañuelos, anillos--; objetos que sellan una promesa, pagan una culpa o compensan un agravio. Una sensualidad delicada y real se manifiesta en roce de casualidad, presiones tiernas, besos, visión sorpresiva de la desnudez de hombros, manos o pies, que son objeto de maravilla constante.

. . . .

La acechanza de esa fatalidad encontrará réplica adecuada en la visión del paisaje en los capítulos en que se narra la navegación del río Dagua, cuadro de las ominosidades de la naturaleza y pasaje de pruebas de terror y miedosa prevención para Efraín. Condicionan el clima atemperado al estado de ánimo del joven: selva y noche inciertas para los temores y terrores de una carrera contra la muerte. Esta visión de la naturaleza es precursora de la catedralicia visión de Rivera en *La Vorágine* y de la visión naturalista del Mundonovismo. Ninguna novela de la tradición decimonónica anticipa más claramente esa exaltación americanista como *María*. Esta exaltación es multidimensional en la novela de Isaacs y está fuertemente particularizada por la sensibilidad romántica y chateaubriandesca y ajena, por tanto, al naturalismo y a la agonía romántica de la obra de Rivera.

El viaje en el Río Dagua

La dimensión espacial con todo su pintoresquismo del color local, magnificado y teñido sentimentalmente en la evocación, se articula en un vasto mosaico . . . . .

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El Río

. . . .

La emoción lacrimosa pone la novela en la linea sentimental del Romanticismo para delatar no sólo la emoción de la belleza, sino también la nostalgia de la felicidad perdida, la porción de dolor y muerte que yacen en la experiencia temprana de la vida.

"Una tarde, tarde como las de mi país, engalanada con nubes de color violeta y lampos de oro pálido, bella como María, bella y transistoria como fue ésta par mí, mi hermana y yo, sentados sobre la ancha piedra de la pendiente, desde donde veíamos a la derecha en la honda vega rodar las corrientes bulliciosas del río, teniendo a nuestros pies el valle majestuoso y callado, leía yo el episodio de *Atala* . . . . ." (*María cap. 13)*

. . . .

Un coro de personajes pintorescos completa la caracterización en esta novela. Los campesinos de las haciendas vecinas y los negros llenan un momento de brillante color local con sus notas alegres, dicharacheras, y su música. Todas estas caracterizaciones responden al tipicismo edénico del mundo, a la patriarcal perfección del régimen de la vida, donde la caridad, la piedad, el amor y la justicia reinan por doquier.

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"Extendida en el patio la grande y aterciopelada piel, las mujeres intentaron exhalar un grito; mas al rodar la cabeza sobre la grama no pudieron contenerse". (*María* cap. 21)

El periodo romántico y el realismo de esta generación no pueden cerrarse mejor, tal vez, que con esta novela que realiza algunos ideales del americanismo literario en forma inigualada hasta entonces y que anticipa futuros logros de probada eficacia. Los signos del período marcarán la visión de la naturaleza con los atributos animadores que el romanticismo había traído a las letras.

(Cedomil Goic, *Historia de la novela hispanoamericana*, 2a. ed. [Valparaíso: Ediciones Universitarias, 1980] 99-103).

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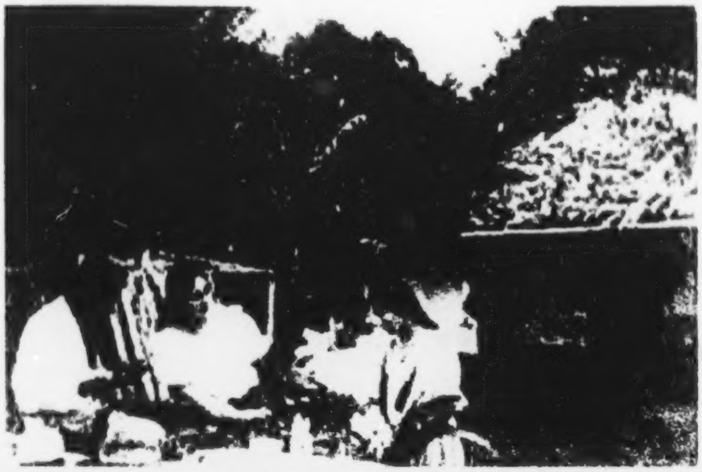
La cabeza del tigre

Costumbrismo:
Descripciones, Definiciones y Aproximaciones

Spanish 325K -- Primavera '97

Prof. Nicolopulos



"Las instancias de los montañeses me hicieron permanecer con ellos hasta las cuatro de la tarde, hora en que, después de larguísmas despedidas, me puse en camino con Braulio, que se empeñó en acompañarme". (*María*, Cap. 22)

Costumbrismo:

Tendencia o género literario que se caracteriza por el retrato e interpretación de las costumbres y tipos del País. La descripción que resulta es conocida como "cuadro de costumbres" si retrata una escena típica, o "artículo de costumbres" si describe con tono humorístico y satírico algún aspecto de la vida.
(Raquel Chang-Rodríguez and Malva E. Filer, *Voces de Hispanoamérica* 535)

Los cuadros de costumbre: concepto:

Los cuadros de costumbres, llamados también artículos de costumbres son bocetos cortos en los que se pintan costumbres, usos, hábitos, tipos característicos o representativos de la sociedad, paisaje, diversiones y hasta animales, unas veces con el ánimo de divertir (cuadros amenos) y otras con marcada intención de crítica social y de indicar reformas con dimensión moralizadora.

El artículo de costumbre es uno de los géneros más ampliamente leídos en el Mundo Hispánico, al parecer porque interpretan raíces hondas de la raza y corresponden al gusto por estos estudios de la realidad circundante. Son características de los cuadros de costumbres: acendrado localismo en sus tipos y lengua; color local, énfasis en el enfoque de los pintoresco y representativo; popularismo; sátira y crítica social, con

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"Habían pasado tres días cuando me convidó mi padre a visitar sus haciendas del valle, y fue preciso complacerlo; por otra parte, yo tenía interés real a favor de sus empresas". (*María*, Cap. 5)

El Cuadro de Costumbres:

Ligado a rasgos románticos, aunque pueda posteriormente separarse de ellos, aparece en la época el cuadro de costumbres.

El cuadro pintoresco, el menudo episodio lugareño, la escena popular de acendrado localismo en sus tipos y lengua, atrajo al escritor romántico. En verdad, las raices están en la valoración del color local y su inmediato reflejo en el costumbrismo literario.

Con los cuadros de costumbres se configura un gén a ciertas ambiciones artísticas. Con todo --y a pesar de lo que valen palabras de Croce acerca de la falsedad de géneros mayores y menores-- reconozcamos que el cuadro de costumbres tiene su fin en su propia limitación.

Mucho significó --es indudable-- el ejemplo de Larra, en quien se personaliza artísticamente el género y que alcanza casi increible altura. A considerable distancia se presentan, para los costumbristas americanos, Mesonero Romanos y Estébanez Calderón.

El cuadro de costumbres más frecuente en Hispanoamérica se distingue por estos caracteres: color local, popularismo, fragmentarismo (en este último aspecto, hasta puede extenderse a él la sátira que en España hacía Santos López Pelegrín a lo consideraba rasgo fundamental de las obras románticas).

A menudo aparece, pues, en esta forma, y centra toda su ambición en la pintura colorida, pintoresca. Pero en otras ocasiones acentúa la sátira social e inclusive toca el tema político. Es lo que --por ejemplo-- ya se daba en Larra, y que en América encontró ámbito más que propicio para repetirse. Por eso, distinguiendo estas dos direcciones inconfundibles, me parece que las señala con claridad el cubano José Victoriano Betancourt:

"Muy humilde es mi pretensión --dice Betancourt-- : pintar, aunque con tosco pincel y apagados colores, algunas costumbres, bien rústicas, bien urbanas, a veces con el deseo de indicar una reforma, a veces con el de amenizar juntamente una página de la *Cartera* . . . ."

intención de reforma; infiltración del tema político-social; reproducción casi fotográfica de la realidad con escenas a veces muy crudas y vocabulario rudo y hasta grosero; colorido, plasticidad. Constituye el costumbrismo el punto de partida para el realismo y el naturalismo que vendrían después. El cuadro costumbrista nació indisolublemente ligado al periodismo, quizás por su carácter popular y su anhelo de resaltar costumbres contemporáneas.
(Orlando Gómez Gil, *Historia crítica de la literatura hispanoamericana* 344)

La Novela Costumbrista:

". . . la novela costumbrista tuvo numerosos cultores. En parte, la novela costumbrista debe considerarse como la hermana mayor del cuadro de costumbres, que tanta difusión alcanza en la época. Aunque en realidad lo que hacía por lo común la novela costumbrista era disponer como fondo una sucesiin de escenas populares, de acentuado color local, a las cuales estaba íntimamente ligada la trama de la obra.

A su vez, conviene declarar que ciertos contactos entre la novela social y la novela costumbrista se rompen al considerar que la segunda acentúa en particular lo local, lo pintoresco que trata de justificarse precisamente por eso, en su carácter propio, distintivo, fuera de alegatos o choques de capas sociales.

La novela costumbrista tuvo especial resonancia en algunos países. Así, en México, en Colombia, donde el costumbrismo penetra también en el campo de otras novelas, no específicamente costumbristas. Por ejemplo, es notorio el peso que elementos de esta naturaleza tienen en una novela sentimental como *María*, de Jorge Isaacs. Es evidente que el costumbrismo no se superpone aquí al eje fundamental de relato, pero es indudable también que --aun sin fusionarse-- lo sentimos (y evocamos) como un elemento imprescindible del relato: fondo vivo y --¿ no?-- tema secundario que sirve a menudo de necesaria, aquietadora alternancia a la historia sentimental. También, punto de referencia, ámbito de hombre y circunstancia en que la novela nace.

En general, el costumbrismo suele hallarse como ingrediente en gran parte de las novelas hispanoamericanas de todo tipo, de la misma manera que suele hallarse el paisaje americano. Así como a veces recurrían a épocas y tierras lejanas, en ansías de evasión, otras veces gustaban de lo cercano y cotidiano, que --entonces, sobre todo-- despuntaba primicias inéditas. Era esta también una manera de ganar lectores y aun de dar "sello" americano a las novelas. Por una parte, realidad conocida (para el lector de estas tierras), y, por otra, diferenciación frente a obras más famosas que venían del otro lado del Atlántico.

Naturalmente, resultaba común que la obra costumbrista americana, en su afán de reflejar de la manera más fiel posible una realidad, abundara en localismos. De ahí también las notas y explicaciones en textos que aspiran a ganar lectores lejanos.
(Emilio Carilla, *El romanticismo en la América hispánica* 323-25)

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De estas dos direcciones, prevaleció de manera notoria la que Betancourt señala en último término, es decir, el cuadro ameno. Tienen por lo común inclinación social (o político social) los "cuadros" escritos por Echeverría, Sarmiento, Altamirano, etc. . . . En todo caso, la diferenciación surge por temperamento individual, regiones y, también, modelo. De nuevo, los hombres del Plata asoman con mayor ímpetu (ya que no con mayor acierto).

En un sector vemos, pues, que se reproduce el conocido fenómeno que toca tantas obras americanas del siglo XIX, ahora a través de un género tan particular como es el cuadro de costumbres: la infiltración del tema político social.

No sé si vale la pena detenerse en discutir si el cuadro de costumbres es un género romántico. Pero tantas veces se ha puntualizado la duda que conviene decir algo al respecto.

Es cierto que algunos costumbristas hasta atacaron ideas estéticas del romanticismo. Pero --aclaro-- esta oposición no está de acuerdo con la verdadera amplitud del movimiento. Por otra parte, hay críticos que consideran al cuadro de costumbres como punto de partida del realismo y aún del naturalismo. Reparan en la reproducción casi fotográfica, en escenas crudas, en el vocabulario grosero que, efectivamente, aparecen en más de un cuadro de costumbres (abundan, por ejemplo, explicaciones de este tipo acerca de *El matadero*, de Echeverría). Las semejanzas son indiscutibles, aunque eso no supone sentar una filiación inmediata. Creo que, paralelamente, estamos en la misma situación en que se encuentran el colorido y plasticidad de poemas románticos y poesías parnasianas.
(Emilio Carilla, *El romanticismo en la América hispánica* 338-41)

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Macondo

". . . A noisy city with houses having mirror walls rose up. . . a name he had never heard, that had no meaning at all, a supernatural echo in his dream: Macondo."

Welcome to Macondo, the section of the Great Libyrinth devoted to Gabriel García Márquez.

Gabriel Garcia Márquez is a Colombian-born writer of astonishing skill, thought by many to be one of the world's greatest living authors. A resident of Mexico City, he is considered one of the pioneers of "Magical Realism," and was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1982. To read his work is to enter a world that is both enchanting in its beauty and haunting in its dreamy familiarity. The world of Gabo's fiction is a magical realm where the strange and exotic can suddenly become comfortably familiar, and the whole concept of an objective reality is put in question. Here, the borders between life and death swirl together in a gentle and mysterious twilight, and -- if we allow it to possess us -- love can strike flaming miracles from the ashes of our soul.

A note: This page is almost two years old now, and is due for a revision and an overhaul. I will be expanding, revising, and updating Macondo during November 1997. At that time, I will be adding many new links, new information, and changing the format to get rid of the frames and bring it in line with the rest of the Libyrinth. Thank you for your comments and your support throughout these last two years!

The uncertain old man whose real existence was the simplest of his enigmas -- Who is Gabriel Garcia Márquez? A biographical timeline, giving the dates of his major works and some of the events that helped shape his writing.

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Medical Humanities | Literature Arts & Medicine

Garcia Marquez, Gabriel
Love in the Time of Cholera

Medium Literature

Genre Novel

Keywords Aging, Doctor-Patient Relationship, Epidemics, Infectious Disease, Love, Marital Discord, Medical Ethics, Mourning, Obsession, Physician Experience, Sexuality, Society, Time

Summary As a young woman, Fermina Daza kept a lengthy and passionate correspondence with Florentino Ariza, who was socially her inferior, but was desperately in love with her. They became engaged through their letters, exchanged through hiding places and telegrams in code.

But one day, when Fermina Daza comes close to Florentino Ariza in the market, she feels suddenly ill and tells him it was all a mistake. Instead, she marries Dr. Juvenal Urbino, a European-educated perfectionist, who falls in love with her on a medical visit. Their tumultuous but affectionate marriage lasts over fifty years, through a civil war, cholera outbreaks and the Doctor's brief affair with a patient. Juvenal Urbino distinguishes himself by instituting policies to combat cholera. He dies, falling from a tree as he attempts to catch his pet parrot.

Florentino Ariza comes to the wake. He is now about seventy and controls a wealthy shipping operation. After the other guests leave, he approaches Fermina Daza, saying, "I have waited for this opportunity for more than half a century, to repeat to you once again my vow of eternal fidelity and ever-lasting love."

She throws him out of the house, but continues to think of him. He becomes a regular visitor. Finally, they take a boat ride together, down the rivers that are being slowly drained and poisoned, listening for the cries of the manatees. They do not return, but prepare to sail on forever.

Commentary The novel has an epic air to it, crossing so much time and carefully interweaving the development of the characters. The aged love of Fermina Daza and Florentino Ariza impresses with the wisdom and patience of age. Long sections of the book are devoted to Juvenal Urbino, including his ethical struggle over his desire for his patient, his horror at the medical conditions of his country after studying abroad, and his negotiations with Fermina Daza, who expects him to be a husband as well as a doctor.

Publisher Penguin (New York)

Edition 1988

Miscellaneous Translated by Edith Grossman.

Annotated by Moore, Pamela and Coulehan, Jack

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Gabriel Garcia Marquez

Nació en Aracataca, en el hogar de Gabriel Eligio García, telegrafista y de Luisa Santiaga Márquez Iguarán. Siendo muy niño fue dejado al cuidado de sus abuelos maternos, el Coronel Nicolás Márquez Iguarán -su ídolo de toda la vida- y Tranquilina Iguarán Cortés. El reconoce que su madre es quien descubre los personajes de sus novelas a través de sus recuerdos. Por haber vivido retirado al comienzo de su padre, le fue dificil tratarlo con confianza en la adolescencia; "nunca me sentia seguro frente a él, no sabia cómo complacerlo. El era de una seriedad que yo confundia con la incomprensión", dice García Márquez.

En 1936, cuando murió su abuelo, fue enviado a estudiar a Barranquilla. En 1940, viajó a Zipaquirá, donde fue becado para estudiar bachillerato. "Allí, como no tenía suficiente dinero para perder ni suficiente billar para ganar, prefería quedarme en el cuarto encerrado, leyendo", comenta el Nobel. En 1946 terminó bachillerato. Al año siguiente se matriculó en la Facultad de Ciencias Políticas de la Universidad Nacional y editó en diario "El Espectador" su cuento, "La primera designación". En 1950, escribió una columna en el periódico "El Heraldo" de Barranquilla, bajo el seudónimo de Séptimus y en 1952, publicó el capítulo inicial de "La Hojarasca", -su primera novela en ese diario- en el que colaboró desde 1956.

En 1958, se casó con Mercedes Barcha. Tienen dos hijos, Rodrigo y Gonzalo.

Gabriel García Márquez, quien está radicado en Ciudad de México desde 1975, en una vieja casona restaurada por él mismo, es amigo cercano de inportantes personalidades mundiales, lo fue de Omar Torrijos y conserva fuertes lazos con Fidel Castro, Carlos Andrés Pérez, François Miterrand, los presidentes de México, Venezuela, Colombia y otros muchos.

El 11 de diciembre de 1982, después de que por votación unánime de los 18 miembros de la Academia Sueca, fue galardonado con el Premio Nobel de Literatura por su obra.

La vida y obra del Nobel García Márquez ha sido reconocida públicamente: en 1961 recibió el Premio Esso, en 1977, fue homenajeado en el XIII Congreso Internacional de Literatura Iberoamericana; en 1971, declarado "Doctor Honoris Causa" por la Universidad de Columbia, en Nueva York; en 1972, obtuvo el

Premio Rómulo Gallegos por su obra "La Cándida Eréndira y su abuela desalmada". En 1981, el gobierno francés le concedió la condecoración "Legión de Honor" en el grado de Gran Comendador. Ese año asistió a la posesión de su amigo y Presidente de la República, François Miterrand. En 1992, fue nombrado jurado del Festival de Cine de Cannes.

El último libro de Gabriel García Márquez fue publicado en 1994. Sobre él, "Del amor y otros demonios", dijo Alvaro Mutis: "es una novela perfecta desde el punto de vista histórico, con fuertes planteamientos de carácter dogmático en la que aparecen ciertos personajes cuya caracterización es realmente genial".

Gabriel García Márquez, quien hoy prepara un libro que titulará "La profesión más hermosa del mundo", sobre periodismo, a sus 66 años es considerado por un importante grupo de intelectuales como el escritor vivo más importante del mundo, según lecturas dominicales de El Tiempo del 28 de agosto de 1994.

"Gabo", quien alterna su vida entre México y Colombia, prácticamente vive en un avión. Ha recorrido el mundo entero y engrandecido el nombre del país en el exterior, llevando nuestros paisajes y costumbres de un continente a otro, itinerario que inició en 1957 cuando visitó la República Democrática Alemana, Checoslovaquia, Polonia, Hungría y la Unión Soviética, temas de su artículo "Noventa días en la cortina de hierro". Después de 1967 cuando se fue a vivir a Barcelona y cuando el mundo se dio cuenta de su obra maestra "Cien Años de Soledad", que ha marcado la historia de la literatura de nuestro siglo, García Márquez se ha convertido en invitado de honor de sucesos intercontinentales, de congresos, de festivales, de posesiones y de eventos, porque su presencia tiene un valor muy especial.

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Octubre 3 de 1996

Welder spends summer in Colombia

by Shay Davis

Barbara Welder, Bee County College Spanish instructor, embarked upon a summer-long tour of Colombia as one of 15 U.S. professors selected for the 1997 Fulbright-Hays Abroad Seminar.

"Participating in the Fulbright program was a honor and an opportunity of a lifetime," Welder said. "I feel extremely fortunate in being able to share a very enriching and broad experience with students, colleagues and members of local organizations," she added.

The seminar focused on Colombia's economy, culture, history natural resources and linguistic background. During her stay, Welder studied Colombia's coffee plantations and the agricultural ecosystems. In the Caribbean region, she toured high mountains, deserts, coral reefs, tropical forests and mangrove swamps.